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EUROPE UNDER THE NAZIS

Denmark in Nazi Chains

EUROPE UNDER THE NAZIS

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DENMARK
in
NAZI CHAINS

by

PAUL PALMÉR

former London Editor of "B.T."

and

"Scannews Agency," Copenhagen

with Foreword by

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FOREWORD

EARLY one morning in April, 1940, Germany sent her troops across the frontier of her small neighbour, Denmark. For a few hours Danish troops fought against odds greater, perhaps, than those any other troops have faced in this war. Then came the order to cease fire. Under the usual German threat of ruthless bombing of the capital, King Christian and the Government surrendered. The lights went out over Denmark.

If Democracy is not only a word shouted by demagogues from political platforms, but is a sensible system of co-operation between a people and its government, the Scandinavian countries are probably its best exponents. Denmark was a very prosperous country with a very high level of culture and with admirable social legislation. Nothing could be more certain than that the Danes must hate the intolerance and narrow ideas of their present Nazi rulers. Indeed, their newspapers still prove it. The latest press cuttings I have by me contain accounts of mysterious fires ; criticisms of the Danish Nazi leader, Fritz Clausen, for his ostentatious way of living ; and two comments on the extent to which the police are overworked. " We must watch carefully," says one newspaper, " so that the country does not become a state run by the police."

Passive resistance is certainly increasing and so is German irritation. Hitherto, Hitler's methods of taming this " Nordic country " have been less openly brutal than the methods employed in most other occupied territories, but they have failed. The indignation throughout Denmark when Scavenius, the Foreign Minister, went to Berlin to sign the Anti-Comintern pact showed clearly what the Danish people think of quislings.

Nevertheless, while the King and the Government remain in Copenhagen Denmark is not officially one of the Allied Powers. There are, apparently, still technical difficulties which prevent Allied status from being extended to the Free Danish Movement, although the great majority of Danes abroad, from the ministers in London, Washington and elsewhere to the three or four thousand merchant seamen who are serving on the Allied side, have shown their adherence to it.

I do not know much about International Law and the technical difficulties that lawyers have to face. But I *do* know that I am proud to write this Foreword to a book which should help to remind the people of Great Britain that the Danes cannot be regarded as anything but allies in the plain, everyday meaning of the word. Like King Christian himself, we look forward to the day when the red and white flag will wave again over a free and independent Denmark.

VERNON BARTLETT.

January, 1942.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

I HAVE written this book with one purpose and one purpose only : that of giving to all friends of Denmark as complete information as possible of what has happened and is now happening in Denmark under the tyranny of the Germans. It is especially my wish to emphasise that Denmark's armed forces did offer military resistance when tens of thousands of German troops without declaration of war or any warning assaulted their peaceful little neighbour on the morning of April 9th, 1940. It was not the armed forces who wanted to surrender. The soldiers of Denmark were prepared to give their lives in the defence of their country, and behind these soldiers stands to this day the overwhelming majority of the Danish population.

Although my daily work is concerned with propaganda, I have made every effort in this book to avoid propaganda. I have tried only to present the facts as they are, and readers may judge then for themselves. I know that my country need not be ashamed and that the greater part of the Danish people—the true Danes—can look the free world in the face.

For Denmark and the Danish people Germany has been the arch enemy for centuries ; and when the day comes which will give the Danes an opportunity of revolting against the tyrant, no propaganda, no political siren calls will be needed to rally the nation ; the Danish people will be ready, united against Germany.

PAUL PALMÉR.

January, 1942.

CONTENTS

PART I: DENMARK IN NAZI CHAINS

	PAGE
Chapter 1. <i>The Invasion of Denmark</i>	13
The Danes fought—	13
A Government which believed in disarmament	19
Chapter 2. <i>Passive Resistance</i>	26
A letter from Denmark	39
Chapter 3. <i>The Nazi Chains</i>	42
Pressure on Government and Politicians	42
Enforced adjustments in Danish law	54
Chapter 4. <i>The Fifth Column</i>	64
Danish Nazis failed in gaining Power	64
Chapter 5. <i>Danes Are Not Won Over</i>	74
The German Cultural Propaganda	74
The Press and Radio Muzzled	79
Chapter 6. <i>The Economic Plundering</i>	90
German Financial Tricks	90
Once a Land of Plenty—	99
Chapter 7. <i>Unemployment and Working Conditions</i>	102

PART II: FREE DANES FIGHT

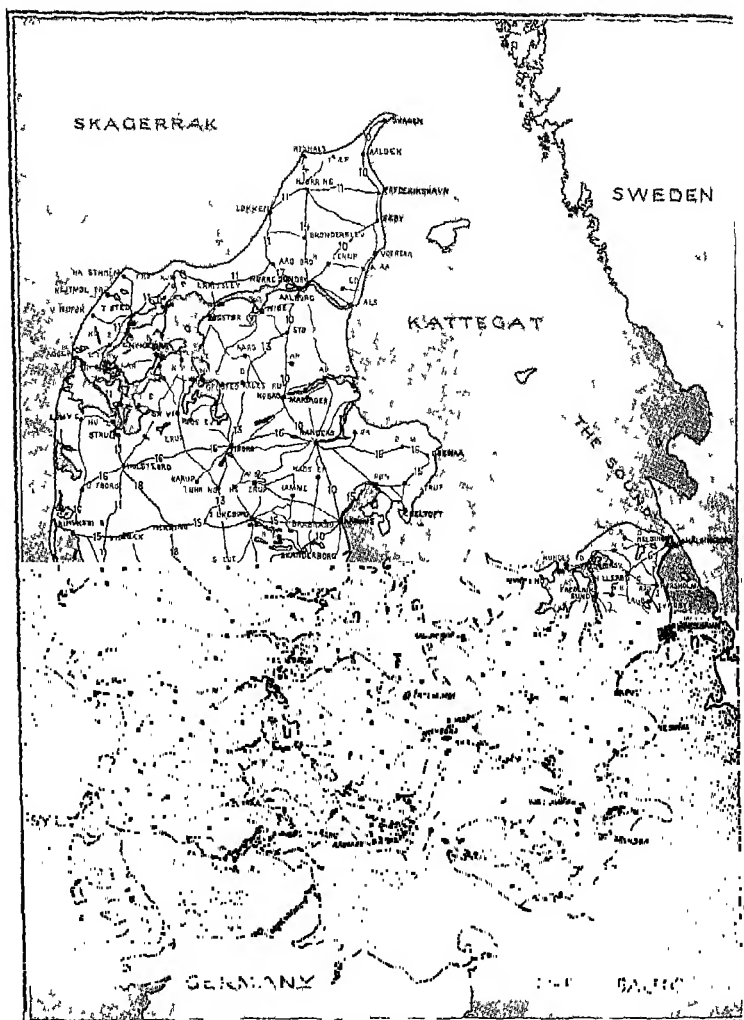
Chapter 1. <i>The Free Danish Council in London</i>	113
Chapter 2. <i>A Dane Takes the Lead</i>	119
Text of Greenland Agreement	123

ILLUSTRATIONS

	FACING PAGE
Map of Denmark	13
German Soldiers enter Copenhagen along the " Tourist Mole "	14
German Soldiers enter Copenhagen Citadel	14
A German Soldier directs the Traffic	22
A German Troopship in Copenhagen Harbour	22
King Christian Riding through Copenhagen on his 70th Birthday	38
The King in Amalienborg Square surrounded by his Subjects	38
The Swastika Flying alongside the Danish Flag, German Headquarters in Copenhagen	60
German Officials with Gunnar Larsen attend the Opening of a New Route to Germany	76
Opening of the German Scientific Institute in Copenhagen on May 4th, 1941	76
The Royal Family at a Public Gathering in Copenhagen on October 26th, 1941	98
The Crown Prince and Prince Knud with their Families	98
The Danish Minister in Washington with the Greenland Agreement	122
Tombstone Erected in Southern Jutland to Private K. G. Jorgensen, who gave his life for Denmark, April 9th, 1940	122

PART I

Denmark in Nazi Chains



MAP OF DENMARK

CHAPTER I

The Invasion of Denmark

The Danes fought—

ON the 9th of April, 1940, Denmark lost, for the time being, her thousand-year-old independence and liberty; and the oldest Kingdom in Europe, whose rulers are so closely related to the English Royal family, is now obliged to submit to every humiliation that Nazi-German despotism may care to impose upon it.

In the past the Germans, or we might say the Prussians, have always been Denmark's natural enemies. As long ago as about 940 the Danish queen Thyra built one of the first Maginot lines in the world, the low rampart "Dannevirke" along the whole of Denmark's southern frontier, to keep out the Germans. That was a thousand years ago, but the hate and fear of the Southern neighbour has lived on through the centuries. The apprehension persisted in later years, and with reason, but the idea had been discussed for so long that the fear had become dulled, and thus the invasion of the 9th of April, 1940, came as a terrible shock to the majority of the Danish people.

Everyone fully realized that it was a completely hopeless task for little Denmark with her negligible military forces—considerably depleted as a consequence of the disarmament policy of the Socialist Government during the previous eleven years—to resist the colossal Panzer forces which were suddenly thrown against her.

Nevertheless the tiny Danish army was prepared to resist, understanding only too well that Denmark's liberty was at stake, and it fought stubbornly in the early hours of April 9th, particularly at the frontier in Southern Jutland.

That the troops who took part in the fighting knew then

duty well enough, and did not stop to consider consequences, is indicated by the short address of one of the captains to his men just before they went out to meet the Germans: "The enemy has crossed the frontier this morning, and it is *our task to show that we do not surrender this country without resistance*. We will now proceed to our positions in Bredevad."

That was about four o'clock in the morning, and during the next few hours violent fighting took place, mostly in the positions at Bredevad and at Tønder. At Bredevad the Danish forces consisted of an infantry battalion of 350 men, and in Tønder of only 150 men. The Germans numbered about 80,000, according to their own accounts given later, and they had armoured cars and tanks and, above all, aeroplanes. It has not been possible to obtain exact details of the German losses, but there seems to be no doubt that the Germans lost far more than 350, the official figure. A number of armoured cars and tanks were destroyed; two German planes were shot down.

When the Danish troops, still fighting, had been forced back a couple of miles, the order to cease fire was received from Copenhagen at 6-25 a.m.

During the night German troops had been landed at Funen without encountering any serious resistance, since no Danish troops were stationed there; the Germans occupied the important bridge over the Little Belt between the ports of Middelfart and Fredericia (in Jutland). Fighting also developed in other parts of the country, at the military aerodromes like Værløse near Copenhagen, where Stukas succeeded in setting fire to all the Danish machines on the ground, except one which was shot down immediately after taking off.

The capital, Copenhagen, was taken by surprise while most of its citizens were still asleep. The man in the street did not realize that danger was imminent. There are many indications, however, that government circles knew which turn developments were taking and were extremely nervous. The anxiety spread to the army, and certain military



(Above) On the morning of April 9th, 1940. German soldiers enter Copenhagen along the "Tourist Mole" at Langeline from the coaling vessels, where they have lain hidden, waiting for the assault.

(By courtesy of British Movietone Ltd)

(Below) After having blown open the main gate of the Copenhagen Citadel (Kastellet) German soldiers are seen entering by one of the other entrances.

(By courtesy of British Movietone Ltd)



quarters no doubt felt what was coming. All afternoon and evening of the 8th of April it was hoped and expected that the order for general mobilisation would be given. But all that happened was that N.C.O.'s and privates were called to their barracks with orders to stand by. Meanwhile the government had no doubt been trying to decide whether to order mobilisation or not. Most of the Ministers were attending meetings throughout the night, and there were several conferences with the King at Amalienborg Castle.

But the negotiations never resulted in a decision ; before the new day broke over Denmark the Germans were already in Copenhagen. Many of the inhabitants were awakened by the drone of hundreds of German bombers circling low over the town. At the same time some 600 fully equipped German troops were landed from two apparently harmless coaling vessels which for three days had been anchored outside the Langelinie " Tourist Mole." They immediately marched to the Citadel (Kastellet), the Main Telephone Exchange, the Radio Building, and other points of military importance. The Citadel was taken practically without resistance, but nearby in the grounds of the Royal Castle, Amalienborg, fierce fighting developed. The Germans tried to close in on the castle from the neighbouring streets. In one of the main streets, Bredgade, a passing milk cart was stopped, turned over on its side and used as cover for the German machine-gunners. Workmen on early shifts had the shock of their lives when they encountered violent shooting in the streets, and were ordered off by foreign soldiers into the nearest buildings. The Royal Guard offered a desperate resistance at the entrances to the castle, and not one German soldier succeeded in entering the grounds. The Germans had to call up reinforcements. By this time large numbers of German bombers were flying low over the rooftops, and while the King and the Government were in session at the castle, an ultimatum was delivered to them. The Germans threatened ruthless bombing unless the resistance ceased. To avoid a senseless mass-murder the King and Government surrendered. The

King himself appeared in the courtyard, and from the castle gate ordered the commanding officer of the Guards to cease fire. And the negotiations with the enemy started. Only a few casualties occurred during the fighting round the castle. A civilian, the only one, was injured in the streets nearby.

In the course of one hour the occupation of Copenhagen had been virtually completed. By eight-thirty the roping-off of a zone comprising Frihavnen, Østerport, Nørrevold, Nørregade and Slotsholmen to the harbour, was reduced to lesser districts of the city. By eleven o'clock the roping-off was limited to the Citadel itself.

Between seven and nine o'clock units arrived in military cars along the various main roads from other landing points in Zealand, including Korsør, Vordingborg, Kalundborg, and Helsingør. After eleven o'clock there was nothing unusual to be seen in Copenhagen apart from the continual patrols of German units and the sentries at the various command posts. The Germans established their headquarters in the Hotel d'Angleterre and the Hotel Phønix.

As soon as negotiations started between the German military authorities and the Danish Government announcements were given out on the wireless, which had been closed down in the intervening period, and leaflets were dropped on the city from the German 'planes. The Danes were informed that the Germans had occupied the whole country and that the King and the Government had given orders that no resistance was to be offered. The morning editions of all papers were stopped. On the following day the newspapers were greatly reduced in size and contained almost nothing but repetitions of the statements from the German and Danish authorities. The Germans immediately took over all military installations, including the new barracks of the Fleet Air Arm and also the main base itself. The barracks of the Royal Guards Regiment in Copenhagen and in Jægersborg are the only ones not taken over by the Germans.

On the 12th of April the Commander-in-Chief of the

Danish Army, Lt.-Gen. W. W. Prior (who has since resigned), issued an order of the day to N.C.O.'s and privates. It read :

I wish to stress that no one in the ranks of the Army has failed in his duty towards his King and country. Every order has been carried out and often life was risked in doing so.

You can all look the world in the face knowing that you have done your duty.

The sacrifice of lives has not been in vain. First and foremost it has shown that every man was prepared to give his life for his country, and the various units have done their duty as good Danish soldiers.

In remembrance of these Danish soldiers who gave their lives for King and country, we will put our faith in a happier future.

* * * * *

This murderous attack on a peaceful neighbour took place in accordance with the usual Nazi tactics, only ten months after the signing by Denmark and Germany of a non-aggression pact on May 31st, 1939, on the initiative of the German Foreign Minister, von Ribbentrop, or, to put it bluntly, at his explicit demand. The signatories were von Ribbentrop and the late Danish Minister to Berlin, Herluf Zahle, and to make the farce complete, the pact was to be valid for ten years. Denmark's case serves to illustrate once more how fatal it is for any state to sign friendship or non-aggression pacts with Hitler.

The Nazis, who are never mean with their promises, whatever else can be said about them, were very benevolent as soon as the Danish armed resistance had ceased, and made generous promises to ensure quiet in the country. It was essential that their planned economic plundering should proceed with as little trouble as possible for the Germans. On the very day of the invasion the German Government handed over to the Danish Government a long memorandum

explaining the object of the German military action. This memorandum ended with the following declaration :

In accordance with the good spirit which has always prevailed in Danish-German relations, the Reich government declares to the Danish government that Germany does not intend now or in the future to interfere with Denmark's territorial integrity or political independence.

Later in the day the officer commanding the German invasion troops, General von Kaupitsch, issued a declaration, which he called " Proclamation to the soldiers and the people of Denmark," and which included the following :

These agreements (between the German Reich Government and the Royal Danish Government) are intended to secure the continued existence of the Kingdom. The Army and the Fleet shall be maintained and the freedom of the Danish people respected, and the future independence of this country will be fully safeguarded.

This sounded very reassuring, but was just like all other German promises, utterly false. What was the result ? The complete economic plundering of the country, censorship with severe restrictions to the freedom of the press and public meetings, limitation of personal freedom of the citizens, persecution of politicians with purely Danish national viewpoints, the theft of part of the Danish fleet, the introduction of German-inspired laws, German cultural propaganda, and so on. Such was the fate of Denmark . . .

* * * * *

Very few Danes have had an opportunity to escape^e from the country, and the conquered people therefore had to content themselves with moral resistance and by making life as difficult as possible for the German occupation troops and authorities. The Free Danes in Great Britain, however, and in the rest of the free world, and among these first and foremost the sailors in the Danish merchant ships, are playing a valuable part in supporting Great Britain in her struggle against Nazism, thereby helping to liberate their country from the German yoke. " When Denmark was

occupied about half of the Danish Mercantile Marine placed itself alongside Great Britain without doubt or parley, and its crews have been helping fearlessly to provision and equip this country from overseas," as *The Times* expressed it in a leading article on June 14th this year, and the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Shipping (now the Ministry of War Transport), Sir Arthur Salter, said at a seamen's meeting in Newcastle on February 5th this year: "Denmark is not an Ally in name, but by doing what you are doing, you stand on precisely the same footing as Allies, and I cannot put too high the value of the help which you are giving."

The Free Danes, whose contribution to the British war effort is organized through the Danish Council in London, officially recognized by the British Government, cannot in the present circumstances legally form a free government and they cannot therefore be recognized as Allies. But it should be stressed here that the Danish sailors who are sailing under the British flag, the Danish volunteers who serve in the British Army and Air Force and those civilian Danes who in one way or another work in the interests of the British war effort, consider themselves to be Great Britain's Allies in fact, if not in name, the more so since it has been stated that the restoration of Denmark's freedom and independence is included in the British war aims.

At question time in the House of Commons on May 8th, 1940, Mr. Mander asked the Prime Minister "whether he will include as one of the objects of the Allies in the war that of securing the restoration of the freedom and independence of Denmark?" Mr. Butler, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, answered: "Yes, Sir."

* * * * *

A Government which believed in Disarmament

In the late Field-Marshal Ludendorff's memoirs of the Great War, 1914-18, one will find that the German General Staff had plans ready for the conquest of Denmark even then; the purpose was mainly to make sure of a larder as

the Germans were as short of food then as they are to-day. The German forces were at that time so strongly engaged both on the East and the Western fronts that they could not, as Ludendorff expresses it, spare the two divisions it would take to break down the existing Danish defence. This argument supporting the claim that Denmark must have a defence, and that it must be a defence with a reasonable relationship to the size and economic means of the country, has in the years since the Great War, and especially in the last decade, been brought up time and again by the Conservatives against the Social Democratic government. The same argument was also used to prove that there was a serious danger that Germany, who was concentrating more and more on heavy industries, would one day give way to temptation and swallow the little neighbour state with its enormous agricultural wealth, if Denmark by continuing her disarmament policy laid herself open to occupation rather than conquest.

But the Social Democratic government would not listen, obviously having learnt nothing from the Great War. This was the case with Dr. P. Munch, the Left Wing Liberal Foreign Minister, more than with anybody else, as he was the disarmament champion par excellence. In his capacity as Defence Minister he had since 1913 tried to introduce his often-declared policy of cutting down Denmark's defence; but, nevertheless, it became his lot, when the Great War broke out in 1914, to put before Parliament the biggest military budget Denmark had ever seen. But as soon as the Great War was over, he continued to advocate disarmament in Parliament, and after having taken over the post of Foreign Minister in 1929 in the Socialist government under Thorvald Stauning he again pursued this line, supported by the majority in the government; and it is from this time that we have the tragically famous slogan: What is the use of it? Again and again Conservative proposals for building programmes and expansions for army and navy were put forward, only to be turned down. In 1929 the Social Democratic government put forward and

passed in Parliament its first military budget which amounted altogether only to forty million Kroner (about £2 million) ; of this one-third was to be spent on the Navy and two-thirds on the Army. As a consequence, the Commander-in-Chief of the Navy, Rear-Admiral Wenck, resigned from his post, openly declaring that in such conditions the fleet could not be kept up to a reasonable strength, and that *he*, at least, would not take the responsibility.

While some politicians at home and also some abroad were fully aware of the danger which threatened the almost defenceless Denmark from the enormous armament of the Hitler regime in Germany, which clearly meant preparation for war, the Danish government refused to see this danger. Even after war had broken out, Dr. P. Munch stated in an interview with the Copenhagen paper *Nationaltidende*, on September 12th, 1939 :

" What I have said before is still my conviction. There is not, beforehand, any reason to presume that it is impossible to keep the Nordic States out of the war. The difficulties in this respect are no greater than in 1914."

When war broke out in September, 1939, Dr. Munch was, however, as in 1914, obliged to agree to, indeed to advocate, a considerable immediate expansion of Danish defence. Several older classes and other auxiliary groups were called up for military service, so that the total force numbered about 30,000 to 40,000 men. The number of recruits normally called up every year in accordance with the current conscription arrangement for service in periods from five to eleven months, was about 7,000 men for the Army and 1,400 for the Navy, plus a further 350 men for coastal defence. To these figures must be added the regular staff of officers and N.C.O.'s which totalled 1,260 in the Army and 364 in the Navy. The Army Air Force accounted for just over 100 aeroplanes, and the Fleet Air Arm of about thirty-five to forty. Only a few of these were bombers.

The number of modern anti-aircraft guns, indispensable in modern war, was negligible, in spite of continuous demands from certain politicians and military quarters. The situation

is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that one of the larger military aerodromes — Værløse, near Copenhagen — was only defended by a few "Luftmaalsgevæier"—an automatic weapon which in English terms comes nearest to the Lewis gun. Naturally these were not much good when the Germans with a fairly heavy force launched a dive-bombing attack on the aerodrome on the morning of April 9th. One hardly dares to think of the consequences of an air raid on the capital, which was practically an open city.

As regards the Danish Navy, its most important units were the two artillery ships *Niels Juel* and *Peder Skram*, one built in 1918 and the other in 1908, with a displacement of 3,800 and 3,500 tons and a complement of 365 and 275 men respectively. Besides these there were eight torpedo boats of a fairly modern type, each with a displacement of 290 tons and a crew of fifty-one men, and eleven submarines of between 177 and 310 tons, with crews varying from fourteen to twenty-five men. The fleet also comprised various patrol and inspection ships as well as minelayers and repair ships. Altogether there were about thirty-five ships and a number of smaller craft of lesser importance.

Maybe the small size of these ships will cause some surprise, but it must be remembered that the Danish naval units were for use along the coasts, in the Baltic, the Belts and Skagerak only, and as far as the defence of Copenhagen was concerned, the fleet was to co-operate with a series of land and sea forts which surrounded the capital. That at least was the original plan, but the last ten years' disarmament had also left its traces here, and most of these forts had been abandoned.

* * * * *

Just after the German invasion the main part of the Danish military forces was demobilised. The fleet, the strength of which at the time was about 4,000 men, was also demobilised and the ships taken out of commission. Shortly after, the Commander-in-Chief of the Navy, Rear-Admiral Rechnitzer, resigned from his post according to



(Above) Immediately after the invasion People staring incredulously at the extraordinary spectacle of a German soldier directing the traffic in their streets.
(By courtesy of British Movietone Ltd)

(Below) April 9th, in Copenhagen Harbour. (On the right) One of the ships which landed the German Troops



his own wish, and owing to the "extraordinary circumstances."

Although the Commander-in-Chief of the German forces in Denmark, General von Kaupitsch, in his proclamation on the 9th of April, 1940, to the soldiers and the people of Denmark used the expression: "The Kingdom shall continue to exist and the Army and Fleet be maintained," the Army and the Navy nevertheless were liquidated in the course of the first few months, and on February 5th, 1941, the Germans went a step further and started stealing war material. Whether the Germans before this date had taken over anything from the Army is not known, apart from the fact that Danish barracks were of course used by German troops. But as for the fleet, we do know that here was something that the Germans could use. The Swedish paper, *Dagens Nyheter*, was the first to tell the world the news that the Germans had openly stolen eight Danish torpedo boats. The Danish press had been forbidden to mention it, and the Swedish Foreign Ministry was officially requested to ask their press to refrain from mentioning the affair. *Dagens Nyheter*, however, wrote in the comments to this news that it could see no reason why the truth should not be told, the more so as the paper failed to see that the publication could be harmful to Denmark. "The Danes have done everything in their power," wrote the paper, "to prevent the German seizure, and it must be in Denmark's interest that the truth be made known."

In any case the German methods in all their unscrupulousness ought to be known, *since they provide new proof, that Denmark does not willingly bow to German demands, but only submits by necessity.*

On March 29th this year the free Danish paper in London, *Frit Danmark*, published the inside story of the German robbery as it had been given from authoritative quarters. I quote *Frit Danmark*:

In January the German Minister in Copenhagen, von Renthe-Fink, sent a note to the Danish government in which he asked for "the temporary right" to use eight torpedo

boats, five of which were lying at the naval dockyard in Copenhagen (Orlogsværftet) and three of which were anchored elsewhere. The government replied that it could not consider any lease of the ships since this was in contravention to the conditions under which the occupation took place in April and the German promises of leaving the Danish military forces intact, as long as they were not used for the benefit of Germany's enemies. The German Minister in a new note declared that the Danish government had misunderstood him. The German government did not intend to use the ships for any direct belligerent purpose but only for patrol and as training ships in the Baltic. The Danish government replied that it could not see that this made any difference and again referred to the agreement of April 9th. But of course it was clear in which direction things were moving. The Germans *wanted* these ships and if they could not obtain an agreement about a lease they would take them. The Minister of Defence ordered the ships to be disarmed, the guns to be dismounted and the torpedo tubes to be taken out. Each ship carried two guns and four anti-aircraft guns.

After this the German Minister sent a fresh note, in which he stated that he had to consent to the Danish government disarming the ships before handing them over to the German Wehrmacht, but that in this very action he saw evidence that the Danish government now intended to put the ships at the disposal of the Germans. He then stated a time and place for the handing over.

The Danish government formulated its answer in a State Council: the ships would *not* be handed over. The government would not consent to compromise Denmark's position by voluntarily putting any part of Denmark's military forces at the disposal of any other country.

German Marines were marched up to board the ships. The Danish officers had orders not to resist, but in protest they lowered the flags to half-mast before they left the ships.

The Germans now being in possession of the torpedo boats the government worded a statement which it intended to

publish in the press. The German military authorities, however, interfered and forbade the government to send out this statement. During the ensuing negotiations the Germans stuck to the attitude that the question concerned information of Germany's Wehrmacht, and that consequently every reference to the matter in the press or the wireless must be forbidden.

But there was yet another alternative, of which the Germans had not thought. The radio was not allowed to say anything and the press was forbidden to write about it. But in the name of the King an order of the day was issued to the Army and the Navy giving all details, and this order of the day was read to all soldiers in Army and Navy. The announcement was irreproachably correct in form, but nobody could mistake its meaning. And the meaning was : we did not submit ; the Germans only got the ships by stealing them.

CHAPTER 2

Passive Resistance

IN view of developments in other German-occupied countries like France, Holland, Belgium, Norway and Czechoslovakia, it may be a source of surprise that one has heard comparatively little about Denmark. It should be remembered that the Germans at the beginning treated the Danes decidedly better than any other nation because they hoped that the Danes being "eine echt nordische Rasse" could be more easily won over to Nazi ideology, and that Denmark could therefore be used as a showpiece, as an example to other countries of how splendidly a nation is faring who co-operates willingly with Germany in the creation of Hitler's New European Order. In the second place the Germans made Stauning stay at the head of a Coalition government. This latter trick was designed to give the broad masses the impression that here was still a popular government able to negotiate and compromise with the enemy, so as to ease at least to some extent the burdens of the occupation.

While the Germans were thus feeling their way in Denmark, the Danes were quietly but persistently pursuing the only policy which was at that time open to them: passive resistance. But the Germans had orders to show restraint, and for a long time no great clashes occurred, and so the world heard little of what happened in Denmark.

However, as the Germans gradually lost their patience and increased their pressure on the Danish authorities, so also did the resistance lose much of its passive character, and at the present time the almost daily reports in Danish newspapers of court cases concerning assaults on German soldiers and acts of sabotage indicate that the resistance is gathering momentum.

More than 95 per cent. of the Danes are pro-British and believe in a British victory. They know that they must put up with oppression until the time comes when the Germans have to withdraw some of their occupation troops. When that happens the Danes will seize the chance to revolt and will themselves drive out the rest of the Germans.

Much seems to indicate, however, that important developments may be expected in Denmark this winter. The fact that the generally hated and despised Foreign Minister, Scavenius, a notorious Quisling, forced the country to sign the anti-Comintern Pact on the 25th November, by means of political blackmail, and thereby lining Denmark up with the Axis Powers, seems to have been the straw that broke the camel's back.

* * * * *

The German troops, numbering about 60,000 men, are spread over the whole of the country. There are soldiers in all the towns and all strategic points are occupied. New aerodromes have been constructed, several of those already existing, Aalborg for example, have been enlarged, and naval stations have been established in coastal towns.

In Copenhagen the German soldiers, until recently at any rate, have not been greatly in evidence, but there are sentries on guard outside the main entrance to Copenhagen's biggest hotel, the Hotel d'Angleterre, which is the headquarters of the occupation troops, and the Swastika flies over the building.

The occupation of Denmark was not the result of a sudden impulse in Berlin. It was just as methodically prepared as the action against Czechoslovakia or any other of the conquered countries in Europe. The instructions which were issued to the German occupation troops just before the march against Denmark give an illuminating picture of German thoroughness and clearly show how the Germans hoped to fool the Danes into believing that the Germans did not come as conquerors but as friends and protectors.

According to the Swedish professor, Frederick Böök, who

made a tour of Denmark last summer and wrote an article in the *Svenska Dagbladet* on August 16th, 1940, these instructions were then privately circulated in Denmark. They read:

Everyone belonging to the Wehrmacht must remember that he is not entering an enemy country, but that the troops are marching into Denmark to protect this country and to ensure the safety of its inhabitants.

(1) The Dane is nationally conscious to a high degree and, besides, the Danish people feel strongly their relationship with the Scandinavian peoples.

(2) The Dane is freedom-loving and sure of himself. He resents all restriction and subjection. He is not accustomed to and dislikes military discipline and authority. Therefore: Do not order him about, do not challenge him. It fills him with resentment and is of no avail. Explain and convince in an impartial manner. You will get along better by striking a jovial note. Unnecessary sharpness and officiousness will irritate his self-assurance and should be avoided.

(3) The Dane possesses quite a lot of cunning and artfulness bordering on untrustworthiness.

(4) The Dane is economical. His interests are mainly concentrated on the material aspects of life. In particular he will feel keenly any restrictions on his requirements. Therefore: Avoid as far as possible any interference with personal property.

(5) The Dane likes a snug, comfortable existence. He must be won over through kindness, through little considerations and appreciation of his personality.

(6) The people engaged in trade show sympathy for Britain. They detest the war. With a few exceptions there is no understanding for the aims of National Socialist Germany. Therefore: avoid political comparisons.

(7) The German language is understood by many Danes. These instructions, which in many ways reveal an astonishing knowledge of the Danish people, must have been worked out by men who had lived in Denmark for a long

time and made a study of Danish mentality. But apart from this isolated case of "understanding," the attitude of the German Nazis in Denmark has been marked by arrogance, at least in their dealings with the Danish authorities, and by complete astonishment that the Danish people did not receive the German troops with open arms, as the liberators and saviours they liked so much to play.

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The hostility of the Danes to the German troops has shown itself in various ways. Time and again material belonging to Germans has been stolen and soldiers attacked and manhandled. When the culprits were found they were brought before the Danish courts and sentenced to imprisonment varying from a few months up to several years. One of the earliest cases of this kind involved a blacksmith's apprentice from Copenhagen. He was only seventeen years old and was accused of destroying material belonging to the German air force at an aerodrome near Copenhagen. The German authorities said that he ought to have been brought before a German Court Martial, where he would have been sentenced to death, but because of his youth, and, as they claimed, being not quite right in his mind, he was sentenced to internment as a lunatic by a Danish court. After a number of cases of this kind had been heard, Kalundborg Radio impressed upon the people that it was their duty to respect the German troops of occupation. On August 15th last year Stauning, the Prime Minister, broadcast a warning himself; "Punishments are hard," he said, "but this kind of behaviour as at Frederikshavn,* is not consistent with the dignity of a people of culture. We are not at war with the German people, and we must therefore behave correctly towards the occupation troops."

And soon after Kalundborg Radio felt obliged to repeat the

* The incident in Frederikshavn to which the Prime Minister referred involved seven or eight young Danes who had attacked and manhandled German soldiers. The sentences had been comparatively strict.

warning and a statement by the Prime Minister was read in which he reiterated the King's proclamation of April 9th to the Danish people that it was necessary to keep peace and order in the country. Stauning added that certain recent events had necessitated his reminding people of King Christian's words. 'Peace and order had to be maintained in relation to everybody in authority, said Stauning.

Although generally the foreign "guests" were treated with icy contempt and cold-shouldered, there were many, especially among the younger people, who continued open demonstrations and sabotage.

Much as the German soldiers have tried, in accordance with orders, to create a friendly relationship with the Danish population it has been a complete failure. This has also been stressed by the Swedish author, Harry Martinson, who wrote in the Swedish magazine *Nordens Frihet*: "The Danes have not lost their heads. Their dignity is typically Danish. It is an open question whether an invader has ever met a more painful kind of resistance than Danish irony. The Danes demonstratively avoid 'guests' parades.'"

The Germans are not insensitive to this kind of treatment, and for a long time even German officers involuntarily stepped aside into the gutter, if they met Danes on a narrow pavement. What is still more significant is that the Danes regarded this as a matter of course. The German soldiers are commonly called the "guests" or the "tourists" by the Danes, and numerous stories about unwanted guests who stay too long are circulating all over the country. This is also a favourite theme in music hall sketches, if only, as in one case, for a single night before the censorship steps in.

Only a few months after the invasion the Germans showed their general lack of understanding of Danish mentality by attempting to lure the music-loving Copenhageners with military bands out on to Langelinie, which is Copenhagen's favourite place for an evening walk and a cup of coffee. But when the Germans played, not one Dane went anywhere near Langelinie. The pro-German director general of the

Danish State Railways, P. Knutzen, also tried to give the German military bands a break. It was arranged on a sweltering summer day last year that a German band should play in the court-yard of the State Railway offices in Solvgade; when the Germans started up in the court-yard, every one of the hundreds of wide-open windows in the big office buildings was immediately banged shut—by the director general's staff.

Snubbing and ignoring the Germans has by now been developed by the Danes into a fine art; whenever they have an opportunity to show the Germans their contempt and at the same time to demonstrate their own national feelings, they seize on it. Just after the invasion the Danes would very often speak English, when for some reason or other they had to address a German soldier, and they always pretended they did not understand German. The fact is that most people in Denmark are able to make themselves understood both in German and in English, although perhaps among the elder people there are more who know German than English.

In the streets the German soldiers are completely ignored. Even the rather pro-German Stockholm paper, *Aftonbladet*, in an article of May 22nd this year about conditions in Copenhagen, felt obliged to admit that "even now, one year after the occupation, the Copenhageners refuse to take any notice of foreign uniforms and no Dane would be seen in the streets with a German in uniform. And the girls consistently refuse to dance with even the most charming 'sailor guest.'"

The Danish press admits openly that the Danish youth of to-day is far more patriotic than ever before. In order to rally the young people to the national cause most of the political youth associations have been incorporated in one, the Danish Youth Association (Dansk Ungdomssamvirke). This organisation which was formed on October 31st, 1940, has at present a membership of 300,000 and is led by Hal Koch, a professor of theology at the Copenhagen university.

The organisation has 5,000 sub-leaders all over the country and during this summer a series of courses and 300 lectures have been held by students and professors in seven summer camps which the organisation has established.

One of the most important tasks of this Association is to strengthen the national consciousness of the young Dane, and of course Professor Hal Koch has been made the object of many attacks both from German and from Danish Nazi quarters. For example the Danish Nazi paper, *Kritisk Ugerevue*, wrote that he "succeeded Christmas Möller in stirring up the nation" and continues: "He leads the pro-British element and his accomplices have been stigmatising everybody not absolutely pro-British. It is not sufficient for them to be merely Danish-minded, they must be pro-British to be considered proper Danes. They help England with all their might by creating a false national feeling and national struggle, bringing to a standstill all Danish-German intertrading." The article concludes: "They do everything that the British Radio, the apostle of all Anglomaniacs, tells them to do."

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Another expression of Danish national feeling and patriotic pride has spontaneously grown up among the population during the German occupation. It is the great community song gatherings, which were held last summer all over the country and have been taken up again this year, and which attract many thousands of people.

At one of the first, held in Copenhagen last August, the Lord Mayor directed the meeting, and at a later song gathering in Copenhagen about 150,000 people met in one of the public parks (Fælledparken). In many of the provincial towns the audience has represented from 50 per cent. to 75 per cent. of the local population. These expressions of national feeling have been the subject of much criticism; here is a comment from the Danish Nazi paper *Kritisk Ugerevue*: "National meetings and community singing are being arranged everywhere in Denmark with the collabora-

tion of politicians, mayors and Hal Koch. These national evenings are really British evenings, expressing the hopes of all pro-British Danes, that the British will bomb and invade Denmark."

It is really quite correct that besides showing his own national feelings the Dane generally makes no attempt to conceal that he is very much pro-British. Until it was recently prohibited, it was quite usual to see people flaunting an English flag or at least the British colours in their button-holes.

The Swedish magazine *Vecko Journalen* mentions in an article from Copenhagen on February 5th this year, that the Germans began by interfering as little as possible with Denmark's internal politics, but lately the pressure has increased and presently the Germans will interfere openly and strengthen their demands more and more. It is further stated that the Copenhageners carefully avoid restaurants used by the Germans. In the cinemas the audience openly show their dissatisfaction with German films. UFA's news reel in particular is extremely unpopular. The Danes boo pictures showing Göring, Goebbels, Ribbentrop and other Nazi heroes. Once when a picture of Hitler was shown a disrespectful voice called out from the darkness: Who is he?

An article in the *Nordschleswigsche Zeitung* recently complained that there were still too many Danes suffering from "British Disease" (Rachitis is for some reason called "British Disease" in Danish, so the word has now acquired a double meaning). It is threatened that "convalescent centres" will be established for the most serious cases.

The Danish Nazi paper, *Nationalsocialisten*, rages against "Danish patriots wearing in their button-holes four copper coins dated 1940, totalling nine öre in value and held together by tape in Danish colours." The coins symbolise the 9th of April, 1940.

The pro-British attitude of the Danes also comes to light in an article in *Kritisk Ugerевue*, in which it is stated: "Foolish Danes spit at shop windows exhibiting German

illustrated papers, so that it is necessary to keep guards to watch these shops. Danish students passing German soldiers in the street whistle the British national anthem."

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Hatred of the Germans flared up again in Copenhagen on Constitution Day this year, the 5th of June, at a Danish-German football match attended by a huge crowd of spectators. The exceedingly provocative attitude of the Germans combined with the fact that the match took place on the Danish Day of Freedom, caused violent demonstrations, and from press reports it appeared that a considerable number of Germans were so badly injured that they had to be taken to hospital. It was learned later that there were many German soldiers among the public, who irritated the otherwise extremely well-behaved Danish football audience with their exaggerated cries of Heil. The crowd forgot all warnings and reminders and started flinging at the Germans anything they could lay their hands on, and shouts of "stupid Nazi swine" went up. The police had to step in and wholesale arrests were made. Just under a hundred Danes were sentenced at the Town Court of Copenhagen to fairly strict punishments for having molested German soldiers, and the Danish Football Association felt obliged to cancel two matches planned with German teams. A Danish-Swedish match was also cancelled, because the authorities feared that the national feelings of the Danes would again boil over and the Swedes would see how unpopular the Germans were in Denmark.

Because of these and other demonstrations pressure was brought to bear on the Ministry of Justice, who made the following announcement on the Danish Radio on June 9th : "Of late, certain irresponsible elements in the population have taken up a provocative and offensive attitude towards the German troops who are in this country according to agreement with the Danish government, and have demonstrated by wearing the flag or colours of other belligerent powers. As such acts are liable to create dissention which

might harm Denmark's relations with other countries, the Ministry of Justice has worked out a decree according to which acts of the afore-mentioned character will be punished with fines or imprisonment up to two years."

The Danish Nazi paper *Fædrelandet* made typical comments: "Guests are not invited in order to be annoyed, but according to the natural rule that the guest is always right, hosts should seriously intervene if the guests are molested. The guest may sing the national anthem of his mother country and salute according to the customs of his country. He may behave as he would in his homeland. We deplore foolish demonstrations and feel it as a stab in the heart that the rules of hospitality have been violated, not by the guests but by our countrymen." But who, one should like to ask the *Fædrelandet*, invited these guests, anyway?

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There is no doubt that the traditional hatred of the Germans is growing in violence. The additional criminal laws cause an endless series of sentences, and punishments are much stricter than before.

On June 20th this year, the Swedish *Socialdemokraten* mentions that a forty-years-old man from a provincial town in Jutland was sentenced to thirty days' imprisonment for "provocatively addressing a German soldier in English as well as starting a quarrel and annoying the German in several ways." Another Stockholm paper reported on the same day that the Copenhagen Civil Court had sentenced a man to two years' imprisonment for sending an anonymous letter to the German military authorities in Kolding in Jutland "libelling Hitler and the German people." *Fædrelandet* published a "letter from a reader" giving a clear picture of the anti-German feelings which run high in Copenhagen. The paper joins in the reader's disgust that a certain bank clerk received an ultimatum from his bank demanding that he refrain from inviting Germans to his home, as otherwise he would be dismissed. The paper adds that the bank clerk's son had also been abused as a traitor

because he was often seen in the streets in the company of Germans.

During July this year the papers published almost daily reports of sentences on people who had attacked and molested German soldiers in the streets or written V-signs on German military cars. On July 13th, *Socialdemokraten* reported that in one day six men and one woman had been sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from forty days to two years at the Town Court in Copenhagen for such offences.

A provincial lawyer was sentenced to sixty days' imprisonment for having expressed disparagement of the German army and of the Reich during a conversation in a restaurant, and a young man was sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment for cutting a German military 'phone cable, tearing the shoulder-strap off a German military greatcoat and for stealing a dagger from a German soldier.

Among the increasing acts of sabotage, a provincial paper mentions on July 24th that a heavy steel plate had been placed on the railway line between Aalestrup and Hobro three days previously in order to derail the train. More effective was an act of sabotage committed during the night when a bucketful of sand had been poured into the engines of some tractors which were used in road works in Northern Jutland. This road building, which was to be linked up with the new railway installations in the district, had been ordered by the German military authorities. The sabotage caused a considerable delay, as the tractors were completely destroyed. It was not the first time that attempts had been made against these constructions.

Shortly after, an Esbjerg paper reported that two successful attempts at derailment of passenger trains near Esbjerg had taken place. The police offered one thousand Kroner for information leading to the arrest of the guilty persons. The culprits were never found. Sabotage was also attempted against the Fanø Ferry while lying in Esbjerg harbour. Stopcocks were opened, but the ship was saved just before

it sank. It was clear that this act of sabotage had been done by an expert. In a ship in Svendborg harbour, loaded with goods for Germany, fire suddenly broke out, and both ship and cargo were destroyed. Similar attempts have been made against other ships destined for Germany. When German troops are travelling on Danish railways there are often mysterious delays and the trains are held up for hours ; and steel shavings have been found in tinned food delivered to Germany. The Germans have protested against the mildness of the sentences imposed for these acts of sabotage, and the public prosecutor has reprimanded all police chiefs and subordinate prosecuting authorities for wasting time on appeals against these sentences.

The American magazine *Newsweek* publishes the following story from Copenhagen ; a book shop had recently displayed an English grammar together with a sign which read : " Learn English before the Tommies come." The owner was sternly warned to remove the sign before he got into serious trouble. He then put a German grammar in the window with a new sign : " Learn German before the friends leave."

The English V-campaign has found ready response in Denmark and has enraged the Germans. The following is an extract from the *Nordschleswigsche Zeitung* of July 27th, published in German in South Jutland, which naively reveals a great deal about the Danes' passive resistance. " Quite recently German S.S. men throughout South Jutland were greeted by pro-British Danes who raised their hands with fingers apart forming a V-sign, indicating their belief in a British victory. All " members of the order " wearing " nine öre emblem " in the button-hole also shouted ' Heil Hess,' ' Klump Royal Air Force,'* or ' Red Front.' The

* " Klump Royal Air Force " is just another of those Danish " associations " which have but one purpose, to annoy the Germans. This one is comparatively new. " Klump " literally means " lump," but is to be interpreted as follows : K.L. means Long live the King (*Kongen leve*) and U.M.P. means " out with the mob " (*Ud med Pakket*). The reference to Royal Air Force speaks for itself—of the great hopes the Danes pin on Great Britain.

V-sign joke will soon lose its point, says the paper, because the V now stands for the German 'Viktoria.' "

In the middle of this growing hatred of the enemy, King Christian X stands as the rallying point of the Danish people, a symbol of Danish unity and patriotism. King Christian could no doubt have found an opportunity of escaping to Sweden, but he preferred to remain with his people during the most difficult time our country has ever experienced. His brother, King Haakon of Norway, had the opportunity of playing a much more spectacular part in the defence of his country. But there is no doubt that for King Christian it was the more difficult alternative he chose when he stayed in Denmark and faced the humiliation of not being free, rather than trying to get away while there was still time. I feel sure, however, that we shall see King Christian leading his people from passive to active resistance, to overthrow the enemy when the signal is given to the whole of Europe for the final battle. King Christian understood how much depended on him if Denmark was ever to hope to regain her lost freedom and independence. He enjoys the faith and love of his people, and if anybody is able to keep the people and their country united in the present circumstances, it is he. He is a wonderful example to his people, although little more than a prisoner in his own country. The King went out on his usual morning ride in the streets of Copenhagen the day after the invasion, quietly and with a friendly smile greeting everybody who greeted him—which meant everybody.

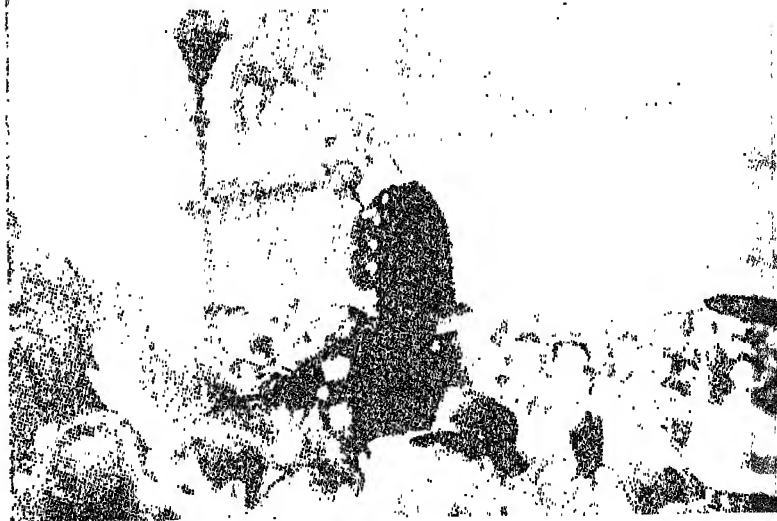
At the tug-of-war which is daily going on off-stage between the Danish and German authorities, the King has time and again had an opportunity of stating clearly where he stood. When the Germans, in January, 1941, made an attempt to overthrow the legal government, he made it perfectly clear that he would never nominate a government which was not backed by the majority of the Danish electorate.

It is certain that the King's ability to express with a single gesture what the whole population would like to do if they were free, has often come to light in the past year and a



(Above) The King on his morning ride through the streets of Copenhagen on his seventieth birthday, September 26th, 1940.

(Below) King Christian on Amalienborg Square surrounded by his subjects cheering him on his seventieth birthday, on September 26th, 1940.



half, without the rest of the world knowing about it. It is known, however, what exactly the King personally thinks of the Danes who have joined the "Free Corps Denmark," but the King is obliged to keep silent where he would otherwise have spoken up or acted.

Some time ago, King Christian visited the camp where the Britons, who were in Denmark on April 9th, 1940, had been interned. The King made a point of shaking hands and speaking to every one of the interned Englishmen.

And that King Christian's position is fully understood in official English quarters is shown by the fact that His Majesty King George, on September 26th this year, sent his Master of Ceremonies to King Christian's personal ambassador in London, Count Reventlow, and asked him to convey King George's heartiest congratulations to the Danish King.

This most democratic of all Danish kings has won great popularity through his twenty-nine years' reign, but the last year and a half have made him the national hero of the entire country.

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Copy of a letter from MRS. NIELSEN, now in the Argentine, who left Denmark in March, 1941, to MR. L. GUNDEL, London.

(The letter is dated June 9th, 1941.)

My dear Nephew,

I will try to answer as many questions as possible. You are perfectly right about the three Quislings, Gunnar Larsen, Scavenius and Knutzen; there are a couple more amongst the "country-counts," but I am never good at remembering names, especially now that I really should like to.

Since the 9th of April, 1940, we have heard very little about the Communists. I have spoken (absolutely privately) to two communists, and they are dead against the Germans.

As far as the Danish bulletins from the B.B.C. are concerned, I can assure you everybody listens to them, and we are wondering how you sometimes are able to get the news before we get it ourselves. In the beginning, the Germans

tried to spoil the broadcasts by making a terrific noise (they had built a noise-making tower in "Kongens Have"), but they soon found out that the noise could spoil it but could not stop our listening, so they stopped it, and I am sure it must make them mad to have to listen to "God Save the King" several times a day.

They also have to listen to "It's a long way to Tipperary," because, whenever German soldiers are marching in the streets, all the youngsters are whistling "It's a long way . . ."

The funny part is that the Germans try to spoil the Danish broadcasts, but they let the Norwegian and Swedish broadcasts go through all right. While I was in Denmark I have never found any inaccuracies in your broadcasts, and I have listened almost every night, and whenever I was out visiting people and it was *your night*, I was proud to say: "Yes, isn't he wonderful, it's my nephew"; and we all envied you, first that you were in England and then that you could tell people what we all think of the Germans. You can be sure of this, that everybody in Denmark, even in the smallest places, listens to England, and that keeps our spirit up. Especially in the beginning, when we were all downhearted, we were very grateful to be able to listen to two messages sent us by an Englishman.

As to how the Danes look upon the war, I can tell you that we are all sure that England is going to win the war; and we are just longing for the day that we can assist you—one way or the other.

The Nazis in Denmark have made a poor show of it so far; they had a big meeting in the K.B. Hall before I left, just to demonstrate and to remember the "fallen soldiers on the 9th of April"—most of the Nazis were taken to hospital, and huge crowds were gathered outside the hospital. A friend of mine who had tried to jump a tram and slipped, hurt his head and was taken to hospital, was received by the same crowd when he left hospital with the words, "It serves you jolly right, you d——d Nazi"; the poor fellow had his head bandaged, and they thought he was a Nazi.

The Germans have tried to meddle in Danish political

affairs, as, for instance, when they wanted Stauning to go. They had to return to Hitler and tell him that our King had answered that Stauning would leave only by votes or by violence, and if the Germans used violence he—the King—would leave also, so they were having none.

I must tell you a funny incident that happened shortly after the Germans got into Denmark: Commander Kaupitsch went to our Lord Mayor, Dr. Kaper, and told him that he (Kaupitsch) had come to compliment Dr. Kaper on the wonderful discipline the Danes had shown when the Germans entered Denmark. "Discipline," Dr. Kaper said, "You are wrong, my dear sir; that was not discipline, that is culture."

I am out of practice, so I am afraid my English is a poor show, but my heart is all with dear old England and with all of you, and we all out here just admire your spirit.

Love, etc.



V_i V_{il} V_{inde}

mange Kunder i Kraft af vore billige
Priser og vor extra prima Expedition

Den hvide Flip
ved Nicolai Taarn

Proof of the success of the V-campaign in Denmark. The above advertisement appeared in *Nationaltidende* on August 4th, 1941, only a fortnight after the launching of this campaign by the B.B.C. The Danish version of the V for victory as put out by the B.B.C. is "Vi vil vinde" (We will win). The advertisement reads: "We will win many customers through our low prices and first-rate service. The White Collar"

CHAPTER 3

The Nazi Chains

Pressure on Government and Politicians

WHILE Germany made it clear from the outset to the other occupied countries that they would be wholly or partly absorbed into the Greater German Reich, the German Nazis solemnly promised Denmark that "Germany did not intend now or in the future to interfere with Denmark's territorial integrity or political independence." The reason for occupying Denmark was only to forestall Britain and to prevent her from being invaded by this aggressor. This was another of Hitler's attempts to play the saviour, and Denmark was, of course, promised full restoration of her freedom after the war; it is only a pity that so very few now put any faith whatever in German promises.

It was not long before the Danes were given ample proof of the worthlessness of such promises within their own frontiers. The Danes soon realized that even if they did not see German officials, they were there all the same. For instance, although it appeared to be the Danish authorities who issued exit permits for journeys to Sweden, a permit was only granted when the applicant's passport had been forwarded to the German Legation for examination. The postal Censorship was under the direct control of the German Wehrmacht. A local Gestapo branch also appeared in Copenhagen; the Gestapo-chief Kantstein was in charge and the headquarters were established in one of the most modern office buildings in the centre of Copenhagen. In innumerable ways the Germans started meddling in Danish affairs, and by-and-by the Danish government was obliged to give way more and more. After about one and a half years of occupation this continuous yielding to German demands has now brought Denmark to a position where

her constitutional and lawful government is forced to lend its name to all German-inspired regulations, retaining only the illusion of independence.

And with this in view it is worth while quoting a statement from German quarters in an article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* on June 14th this year: "Denmark is not only temporarily brought into the German sphere of interest. She will remain there."

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Since 1929 Denmark has had a Social Democratic government led by Thorvald Stauning, who is now sixty-eight. The Social Democratic party, which was in majority in the Lower House, gained a majority in the Upper House as well at the elections in April, 1939.

Just after the German invasion, Stauning formed a coalition government by inviting six members of the opposition to join the government: the Conservatives Fibiger, Hasle and Christmas Möller, and the Liberals (Agricultural Party) Brorson, Hauch and Dr. Krag, who all became Ministers without Portfolio. The purpose of taking representatives of the opposition into the government was clear enough; it was to secure a national government in which the people would have faith, and possibly it was also hoped that such a government would be better suited to withstand pressure during negotiations with the German masters. On July 5th, however, a new, smaller reconstruction took place, by which Dr. Krag, who had some time back been Minister of the Interior in a Liberal government, became Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs (which is a completely new title in Danish politics) under Dr. P. Munch, and Prime Minister Stauning himself took over the post of Minister of Defence. Christmas Möller became Minister of Commerce. Two days later, a far more comprehensive reconstruction of the government took place, a reconstruction which was to have a very serious and significant influence on Danish politics in the days that followed. Dr. Munch, who had been Minister for Foreign Affairs since 1929, Dr. Krag, the Minister of the Interior, Dahlgaard and several others, were now

dropped. The new Minister for Foreign Affairs, Erik Scavenius, and the industrial magnate, Gunnar Larsen, who is known to be unequivocally pro-German, became Minister of Transport and Public Works. Christmas Möller continued for some time as Minister of Commerce, while Stauning carried on as Prime Minister.

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By far the most serious consequence of this reshuffle was Scavenius's taking over the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs. His German sympathies have been known since the last war. Immediately after he took over he issued a statement in which he promised to collaborate with Germany in Europe's "New Order."

Greater Germany's victory which paralyses the world with surprise and admiration is the beginning of a New European era, an economic and political New Order under German leadership. In this New Order Denmark must find her place in a reciprocal active collaboration with Greater Germany.

This statement from the newly-hatched Foreign Minister attracted enormous attention, and that it was understood in Germany as more or less a complete submission is clearly seen by an article which the German Minister to Denmark, von Renthe-Fink, wrote in *Berliner Börsenzeitung* on the 8th of August last year, and in which he referred to Scavenius's statement in the following terms: "With this statement Denmark accepts an economic and political reconstruction under German leadership, and through this Denmark is trying to find her place in a necessary and reciprocal collaboration with Germany."

At this stage it should be stressed that the Danish government on certain very important points for a long time had refused to follow the lead given by Mr. Scavenius, for which the Danish Nazi leader, Fritz Clausen, in the Lower House reproached the government. Admittedly the Danish government has had to submit to Germany's wishes on many points, but it should be noted that as yet it has succeeded in

preventing a Danish-German Customs Union, which is one of Scavenius's great ideas. Such a Customs Union between Denmark and Germany would automatically deprive Denmark of most of her industry and reduce her to a purely agricultural country, which, of course, is also Germany's plan for her in the European New Order. As well as the Customs Union Scavenius has also suggested the introduction of a Currency Union, but no motion on this point has yet been put forward.

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Several Danish politicians were well aware of the danger of the measures which Scavenius attempted to introduce, and they therefore openly opposed him in various ways. Foremost among his critics was the new Minister of Commerce, John Christmas Möller. Even his political opponents have always appreciated Möller's honesty and sincerity as a politician, and he has devoted his whole life to one thing alone, to serve his country. That is the reason why he could not for long remain in office in a Cabinet which also included a man like Scavenius; and why he could not share the responsibility for an administration of Danish politicians who were in fact only puppets dancing to the tune of the Germans and the pro-German Foreign Minister.

Continuous clashes forced Christmas Möller to resign his office as Minister of Commerce on October 2nd, 1940, his official reason being that he could not properly look after the interests of the Conservative Party simultaneously with his work as a Cabinet Minister. The Swedish paper *Ny Tid* wrote of Christmas Möller that he was not only a burning patriot but also one of the most clear-sighted men in Danish politics. It is noteworthy that this praise is expressed by a Communist paper which was very far from sharing Christmas Möller's political views. He never swerved from his idea, that Denmark must preserve her independence and must co-operate with the other Scandinavian countries; and rather than submit, he left.

His successor was a Conservative member of the Upper House, Halfdan Hendriksen.

It is obvious that Christmas Möller resigned from his office as a result of German pressure because of his disagreement with the Foreign Minister, judging by the comments in *Berliner Börsenzeitung*, which wrote: "Christmas Möller has from the very beginning obstructed Scavenius's efforts to create a positive attitude towards Germany."

After his resignation Christmas Möller launched a country-wide campaign of meetings. The first big Conservative meeting, at which he spoke, was held in his constituency, Odense, and an audience far greater than usually seen in Denmark gathered to hear him. He was received with ostentatious enthusiasm when he proposed that a strong Danish front must be created internally, that everybody should co-operate and the nation be united. Danes who have been to some of his meetings say that the audience spontaneously cheered whenever he mentioned England's name, and even those who did not share his political views, admired him for the courage he displayed in continuing to defy the Germans. He continued addressing meetings all over the country and before the end of December, 1940, he had addressed more than 60,000 people. The Danish government was attacked by the German press for not banning these meetings which it regarded as "anti-German provocation." *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* said: "It can hardly be denied that the internal political opposition in Denmark has increased. This affects Denmark's foreign policy in her relations with Germany. Attacks on Danish Nazis and their German fellow-partisans are meant as attacks on the German Reich. It cannot be overlooked that Stauning has not commented upon Christmas Möller's attacks on German Nazism." Later, when *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* again criticised the Danish government, the German Minister in Copenhagen, von Renthe-Fink, demanded that Christmas Möller should resign from the Lower House. On January 10th Christmas Möller gave up his seat in the Lower House and all positions of trust in the Conservative party. The Danish press was not allowed to mention his resignation.

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The Germans and the Danish Nazis who under the leadership of Fritz Clausen, a country doctor from the south of Jutland, were hoping that their political ascendancy in Denmark was now at hand, regarded Christmas Möller's enforced withdrawal from the Danish political scene as a victory. The attempts which the Danish Nazis have made to gain power in Denmark have, however, provoked only laughter and contempt, and there is no doubt that the failure of the Quisling regime in Norway has made Berlin hesitate to enforce a similar measure in Denmark, at least for the time being.

All the same, around New Year there were rumours circulating that the German Minister in Copenhagen had demanded a government reshuffle, and that Stauning, for one, should be removed. The German press has also hinted time and again at the necessity of introducing a new regime in Denmark. Hitherto both the King and the majority in the government have firmly rejected such demands and made it clear that changes in the government could be made only in accordance with constitutional methods. King Christian has also, in so many words, reminded the German Minister of the fact that the Germans solemnly promised on the 9th of April, 1940, not to interfere in Denmark's internal affairs.

Already in the autumn of 1940 Danish Nazi voices had clamoured for a change in the government. For example, the leader of the Peasant Party, who are collaborating with the Danish Nazis, stated during the budget debate that the Danish government had not pursued the policy laid down by Scavenius: "And, therefore," he declared, "it is necessary that Stauning should resign, since the Germans prefer a government of loyalists for one of Marxists." Immediately before this debate took place the Danish Nazi paper had demanded that the Stauning government and Parliament should transfer their powers to the King, who should then form a government who "understood the new era." This must take place before the 14th November. If Stauning refused this, the paper threatened, the whole

country would be informed of his "scandalous treachery against the country and the people." Stauning, of course, paid no attention to these threats, and the attempts of the *Fædrelandet* at political blackmail failed completely. The much-vaunted "revelations" came, but they did not impress the Danish people. They were mainly aimed at refuting Stauning's assertion that he had only had a few minutes in which to make up his mind on the morning of the invasion.

Another Danish politician who was bold enough to say openly what he meant about the political development was the chairman and spokesman of the Social Democratic group in the Lower House, Hartvig Frisch, and he too has paid the price. On November 4th, 1940, he lashed out courageously against the Quisling elements: "It is incredible that there should be people who attack the lawful government in times when occupation restricts freedom," he said. "It is shameful in these difficult times to find people who are ready to undermine national unity through private negotiations with a foreign power behind the back of the lawful government." Hartvig Frisch here obviously refers to the visits of Danish Nazis and others to Berlin and to Scavenius's private negotiations with the Germans about the establishment of a Customs Union. On November 14th during the budget debate in the Lower House Hartvig Frisch referred to the enormous balance on the Clearing Account with Germany and implied that since the National Bank was unable to obtain any guarantee for this money, it actually was a question of inflation, and eventually of the wages of the workers. The question of her debt to Denmark of course was one of the subjects on which Germany was particularly sensitive, and shortly afterwards it was announced in the Danish press that Hartvig Frisch had resigned his post as chairman and spokesman for his party in the Lower House—in order that he could write a thesis.

As with Christmas Möller and Hartvig Frisch, so also with the man who was selected as Stauning's successor, the chairman of the Social Democratic party, H. C. Hedtoft-Hansen, who, though only thirty-seven, is an energetic and

efficient organiser. Like the two former, Hedtoft-Hansen was a declared opponent of Nazism. At a public meeting in November, 1940, he challenged the Danish Nazis: "Who is it who to-day in fanatical and egotistic party spirit try to split and throw suspicion on the deep national unity, who attempt to damage the honour and national feeling of the loyal peasantry, who, utilising the abnormal conditions, try to make people believe that Fritz Clausen and his selected crowd of landed gentry and other followers are the only representatives of the Danish people in what they call the 'New Era,' and who in spite of official declarations that National Socialism is not an export article take the national flag of a foreign nation for their political emblem? Yes, we and the whole of Denmark know the answer. We say it clearly and bluntly that we accept the Swastika as a symbol of the German Reich and the German people, but *not* as a Danish symbol."

A statement of this kind could not of course pass unnoticed, and the Danish *Socialdemokraten* reported from Berlin that Hedtoft-Hansen had been criticised sharply in *Berliner Börsenzeitung* for his unfriendly attitude towards Germany. On February 7th it was officially stated in Copenhagen that Hedtoft-Hansen had resigned his post as chairman of the Social Democratic party and had also given up his seat in the Parliamentary Collaboration Committee—this was only one month after Christmas Möller had given up his seat in the Lower House. The Germans had scored again.

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Recent developments show that the present Danish government is forced more and more to give way to German pressure. The Danish Nazis repeatedly voice their satisfaction with this development, as, for instance, in Fritz Clausen's paper, *Nationalsocialisten*, on June 19th this year, in which it is declared that "the Danish government is now interested in 'good relations' with Nazi Germany and that this is the same government which for such a long time has shown only scorn and contempt for that country." The paper goes on

to quote a series of passages from the Danish *Socialdemokraten* to show that this paper, as far back as 1933, had voiced a decisively anti-Nazi attitude.

That Danish external and internal affairs are now almost completely dictated from the Wilhelmstrasse is shown by the fact that the Danish government, immediately after Germany had started war against Russia, recalled her Legation from Moscow. On June 26th the government sent out an official statement in which it was said :

" With the war which has broken out between Germany and Soviet Russia, the great European war has entered a new phase, which commands special attention in Denmark, since Germany has now taken up arms against a power which has for many years threatened the welfare of the Scandinavian states.

" That this fear in the Nordic States was not without foundation became clear when Soviet Russia, towards the end of 1939, directed an attack against Finland, and when the heroic defence of this little country caused a wave of sympathy in Denmark for our fighting brothers in the North.

" Now that Soviet Russia has again attacked Finland, the same feelings prevail among the Danish people. But this time Finland does not fight alone. Under the leadership of Germany Finland fights together with other European countries to defend the social structure founded on European culture. The struggle has a common European interest and will decisively preserve the European countries from inner social decay.

"Denmark does not participate with arms, but the common European interests demand that Denmark does not remain impassive."

The most interesting part of this in itself significant statement is the last paragraph, in which Denmark, for the first time, departs from her absolute neutrality.

But this was not all. A few days later it was announced that the government had permitted the formation of a corps of Danish volunteers to take part in the war against Soviet Russia. It was given the name of " Free Corps Denmark."

A lieutenant-colonel in the Danish artillery, P. C. Kryssing, was given permission by the government to take command of the "Free Corps Denmark," and recruiting offices were opened all over the country. This manœuvre of the formation of "Free Corps Denmark" was entirely Foreign Minister Scavenius's doing. And in exactly the same manner as he had negotiated before with the Germans about a Danish-German Customs and Currency Union behind the backs of the rest of the government, Scavenius now sent out an announcement that "the government had permitted the formation of Free Corps Denmark"; neither the King nor the government knew anything of this till they read the public notice. There was great excitement in government circles. A ministerial meeting was called, at which Scavenius received a vote of no confidence, and he pretended that he was willing to resign.

The matter was put before the King, and it was virtually decided that Scavenius should resign. It was agreed that his successor was to be the Minister in Berlin, Mohr. But now Berlin stepped in and informed the Danish government that it would be highly regrettable if Scavenius were to resign. Indeed it would have irreparable consequences for Denmark.

The Germans themselves had demanded the formation of "Free Corps Denmark," and they intended to see to it that their willing tool, the traitor Scavenius, remained as Foreign Minister in Denmark.

The German Wehrmacht's High Command consented to place the Danish volunteers on the front against the Soviet Union as a separate unit. The Danish volunteers, who were given German uniforms, had to swear an oath of allegiance to the Supreme Leader of the German Wehrmacht, Adolf Hitler. This step could not fail to cause general surprise since the government had previously passed a law which prohibited Danish citizens from joining foreign armies. A Danish Nazi M.P. had a short time before moved a proposal for the repeal of this law, as far as the German army was concerned. The proposal was accepted, but the number of volunteers still appears to be small and

consists mainly of Danish Nazis. Officially it is stated that the number of volunteers is a military secret. But as so often before, the Danish Nazi papers let the cat out of the bag by making attacks on Danish officers because they are not joining the Free Corps which is practically without officers and N.C.O.'s, and there is little for them to do in the Danish army just now.

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It had long been an open secret that the German authorities were dissatisfied with the Minister of Justice, Harald Petersen, as they did not consider that he took firm enough steps against the anti-German feeling which prevailed among the population, and which erupted in more and more violent demonstrations against the German soldiers.

On July 8th this year came the announcement of Harald Petersen's dismissal, and in his place the chief of police, Thune Jacobsen, who is a member of the committee of the Danish-German Society, was appointed Minister of Justice. This was the second time that the Germans had forced a Danish Minister to resign.

The anti-German demonstrations in Copenhagen on June 5th this year brought about Harald Petersen's downfall. When warnings from the Minister of Justice, through press and wireless, were of no avail, the Germans demanded that a firmer line should be taken.

Stauning was obliged to explain the ministerial change on the wireless and revealed that Harald Petersen had expressed a wish to resign "in the present circumstances." The new Minister of Justice, said the Prime Minister, had won a name for himself as chief of police, and the Danes were now urged to help and support him in keeping peace and quiet in the country.

There are many indications that the new Minister will submit more easily to the Germans and take sterner measures in case of new disorders. While Thune Jacobsen was still Chief the Danish police had been increased on a scale unprecedented in Denmark. It was armed nearly up to the

German standard, a fact which has been the cause of much questioning by the press.

The *Nationaltidende* in an article on the 9th of July said : " Now it will be possible for Thune Jacobsen to carry through reforms which have previously been opposed by certain individuals, including Ministry of Justice officials. The police force and the Ministry of Justice have obtained a power hitherto unknown in Denmark."

A further impression of the attitude of the new Minister of Justice is gained from an article from his own hand and which appeared in the police paper *Politiet* on June 20th this year. He stated *inter alia* : " Criminals who plunder or kill in cold blood and pyromaniacs who destroy irreplaceable valuables are not so dangerous as those who at present take a provocative attitude towards the German forces or in other ways ignore the King's request. The first group can be rendered harmless and we can measure the sufferings and misfortunes caused by them ; but he who harms his country in the present times is causing disasters which no one can estimate. The police is perhaps the most important authority in Denmark at present."

" The Danes resent the increasing growth of the police," commented *Børsen* on July 13th.

Also the provincial paper, *Aarhus Amtstidende*, had a few words to say on the matter : " Gradually, the police will be meddling in everything. Such an expansion of the police is a threat to the Danish public character. Our ancestors would turn in their graves, if they saw the gigantic police force which is at present thought necessary to supervise the Danish people."

Several other papers went so far as to indicate that Denmark would soon acquire the characteristics of a police state.

With the appointment of Thune Jacobsen as Minister of Justice the persecution of Communists was immediately started, and a number of books were banned. All executive power is now in the hand of the former Chief of Police.

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Enforced adjustments in Danish law

Even though the German occupation authorities do not officially issue decrees or otherwise publicly interfere with the legal machinery, it cannot be concealed from the Danes that many government decrees have appeared as a direct or indirect consequence of requests or demands which the Danish government have no possibility of ignoring. Officially censorship did not exist in Denmark—indeed it is forbidden in the Constitution—but immediately after the invasion a rigid censorship was clamped down on the Danish press, and every word is now carefully scrutinized before being passed.

On July 19th, 1940, the Minister of Justice was obliged to move a proposal in Parliament of an addition to the criminal law; imprisonment for up to one year was introduced for the printing of information which might be considered to harm Denmark's relations with foreign countries. When, nowadays, Denmark is forced to consider "foreign countries" it is always just one country—Germany. How this additional law has been enforced is dealt with in detail in the following chapter about the Danish press.

The most glaring violation of the hitherto existing Danish concepts of justice is another German-inspired addition to the Danish Civil Criminal Law. The proposal for this was moved by the Minister of Justice in the Lower House on January 17th, 1941.

The motion was rushed through in both the Lower and the Upper Houses in three consecutive meetings, so that the law was passed the same afternoon and placed before the King for signature. The new law affects everybody who spreads rumours which are likely to be harmful to Denmark's interests in relation to other countries—again Germany—even though the rumour is not spread in public but only passed on from one man to another. The punishments are fines or imprisonment up to one year, and in the case of military information it may mean imprisonment for life. For the following offences the penalty is likewise imprison-

ment for life, or in less serious cases imprisonment for not under one year.

- (1) For those who enter the service of the opponents of the foreign military forces who according to agreement with the Danish authorities are staying in the country or give these opponents any help which is likely to jeopardise the safety of these forces.
- (2) For those who destroy or damage war material or installations which serve the purposes of these military forces.
- (3) For those who commit any similar act which is likely seriously to endanger Denmark's relations with foreign countries.

This law also affects acts committed by Danish citizens outside Danish territory, and finally also covers such cases in which police investigation has already started. It is noteworthy that this law contains three points which clash with common democratic concepts of justice and which are indeed to be found only in the totalitarian countries. These points are: (a) that a criminal law takes retrospective effect, (b) that it affects people outside the state frontiers, and (c) that it curbs the freedom of speech.

In an explanation given by the Minister of Justice over the wireless immediately after the passing of this law, it was forcefully stressed that, if Danish citizens outside Danish territory violated this law and the case could not be taken to court owing to their absence, the Danish authorities were entitled temporarily to confiscate their possessions in Denmark and to deprive them of certain rights.

On May 21st this year, the Danish government again had to agree to the passing of a new Nazi-inspired law, this time an amendment to the "Administration of Justice Act." In the comments to this new amendment it was said: "Since the present arrangements for cases being heard in camera are not considered to provide adequate guarantee for the concealment of information, which, by becoming known outside, might be harmful to the security of the state and the relations of the state with other countries, a proposal has

been moved whereby the court shall be entitled in certain cases to refuse to supply court records or documents relating to the case, and also that the Supreme Court can decide that a hearing in the High Court shall not take place or that a case at the Lower Court or the High Court shall be dealt with without the assistance of lay judges or jury"; and finally—and most important of all—that "the court can decide that the accused shall be prevented from selecting his own counsel."

The comments of the Conservative paper *Nationaltidende* indicate the uneasiness of the members of the Danish Parliament about the passing of this law. It reports that the Upper House unanimously but without enthusiasm submitted to circumstances and passed the law. The Social Democratic ex-Minister of Justice, Steincke, expressed his doubts as to whether this law was really meant to be a temporary one, and Rytter, the Liberal Ex-Minister of Justice and President of the Town Court of Copenhagen, and also a Conservative juridical member of the Upper House, both stressed that this proposal was inconsistent with the principles of the Administration of Justice Act, but they would nevertheless vote for it, since all parties agreed that it should be abolished as soon as possible. Also, some of the Copenhagen papers mentioned the alleged temporary character of the law.

In spite of the Nazi flavour of these two additions, the fact must not be overlooked that the extraordinarily speedy passing and unconstitutional character of the first addition saved the lives of four Danish officers who, when the proposal became law, were already charged with anti-German espionage, one of them having been caught in Berlin. The passing of this law made it possible to have these four people, one of whom was the chief of the Danish Air Force, Lt.-Col. Ørum, brought before Danish courts and placed in Danish prisons.

On the other hand, the law, of course, affects Danish citizens who have volunteered for the British Army or others who are in the service of the British government, and also

the members of the Free Danish Council in London, which both directly and indirectly makes its contributions to the British war effort.

The German occupation, with its interference in internal affairs, has in numerous other ways influenced the concepts of justice. Thus citizens have always enjoyed a constitutional right to gather at public political meetings, but this was prohibited soon after April 9th; a few months later, however, this ban was adapted so that indoor meetings were allowed when they were arranged by lawful associations or recognised political parties, and the police were informed in advance. The ban included, among other things, the large meetings which were held every year on June 5th, Constitution Day.

But that was not all. As a result of the steadily growing anti-German attitude of the population, the Minister of Justice, in June, saw fit to introduce fines or prison sentences up to two years for demonstrations, in words or deeds, against the German occupation troops. Under this amendment Danish citizens were liable to punishment for demonstrating by wearing emblems, flags or colours which are the symbols of other belligerent nations; and a large number of Danes, to the annoyance of the Germans, had gone about flaunting a Union Jack in their lapels.

On June 15th this year the purely national paper *Kristeligt Dagblad* courageously complained of the many restrictions and bans. The article concluded with the following sarcastic advice to the Danish population: "Keep quiet about what you do not know, and about what you do know. Keep quiet also about what you cannot understand, then all is well."

In July this year the Copenhagen paper *Nationaltidende* reports that in accordance with restrictions regarding public gatherings during the black-out hours, five persons were arrested when the police dispersed a crowd gathering in the streets after a meeting in Copenhagen. They had to pay fines of from 60 to 100 Kroner. The paper adds that this is the first instance of fines for this offence.

The Ministry of Justice in July this year issued a decree prohibiting the use of civilian 'planes. All aeroplanes belonging to civilians had to be rendered unserviceable, propellers removed, petrol tanks emptied, etc.* Any breach of this order is punishable with a maximum of two years' imprisonment.

According to the Danish constitution citizens are entitled to hold any political view they may choose, but after the Germans had launched their attack on Russia it became clear for everybody that the Communist Party would not be allowed to exist. And, true enough, the small and numerically insignificant Communist Party was dissolved, with its party organ *Arbejderbladet*. The new Minister of Justice, Thune Jacobsen, made his debut in the Lower House on August 20th by introducing a bill prohibiting Communists the right of association or agitation and providing for internment of Communist leaders and agitators. Thune Jacobsen explained that the bill was anticipated on June 22nd when the outbreak of the German-Russian war necessitated the immediate arrest of known Communist leaders. The formal illegality of this act was admitted, but it is generally accepted, he said, that the government was justified in taking the necessary measures in an emergency. The bill passed three readings and was at once unanimously approved, although it was surprising that so many members of the Houses should be absent on this particular day. Under this law, Communist activity in any form is now punishable with up to eight years' imprisonment. And any "suspicious person" whose behaviour might endanger the nation or the state can be taken into custody. All papers, documents and financial resources belonging to the Communist organisations are to be confiscated.

With this amendment the power of the Danish police has been still further strengthened, and it can now, in spite of the constitutional rights of the citizens, take into custody "any suspicious person"; this power is so much more

* It appears likely that this ban was due to the justifiable fear that young Danes would escape by 'plane to England.

ominous as there seems to be a close relationship between Thune Jacobsen and the German Gestapo chief, Himmler.

The day after the bill was passed, 116 Communists including well-known authors and editors and seven women were arrested. The men were put in a concentration camp at Horserød, outside Copenhagen. A few days later the Minister of Justice approached Parliament for its approval of putting the three Communist members of the Lower House into a concentration camp. Parliament unanimously approved, but out of 149 members only 86 were present.

The law against the Communists has caused many newspaper comments. The Swedish paper *Goteborgsposten* wrote that apparently Thune Jacobsen is to continue the fight against Communism commenced on orders from Berlin, and it is now to be completed so as not to give the Germans any reason for complaint. The Danish public has long been kept in the dark about this proposal, which was prepared long ago, but not so the Germans.

Just as interesting is a comment from the President of the Danish High Court, Troels Jørgensen, who refers to "legislation carried out quite independently of the constitution," and claims that "in plain words it means that the Minister of Justice can decide completely on his own whether a person shall be set free or detained."

In September this year the Minister of Justice saw fit to propose a further amendment to the military code which increased the punishment for espionage and sabotage endangering the state and its relations with foreign powers. The amendment was carried unanimously by the Lower House. At the same time the Crown Prosecutor in Copenhagen issued a decree stating that any person who helps a foreigner wanted by the police, with shelter, food or clothes, is guilty of a serious offence and is liable to at least one year's imprisonment.

Reports from Denmark indicate that prisons there are now so full that more than 100 people must wait their turn to serve prison terms. In the state prisons they have had to let people sleep in dormitories, which is against regulations,

because there is not enough room in the cells. The Minister of Justice has proposed that several Danish prisons should be enlarged.

Denmark has indeed been put in Nazi chains—and the chains seem to tighten more and more.

The collaboration which Scavenius promised Germany when he took over the post of Foreign Minister, was to cost Denmark more sacrifices than the breaking-off of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and the formation of a military corps to fight against Russia. On November 24th this year Copenhagen radio announced that Scavenius was on his way to Berlin "in order to signify Denmark's adherence to the anti-Comintern Pact."

Of all that happened before the signing of the Pact in Berlin on November 25th, it need only be said that it is by far the most vicious case of political blackmail which the Danish government, the King and the Danish people had experienced since the 9th of April, 1940.

Negotiations about Denmark's adherence to the anti-Comintern Pact started on Saturday morning, November 22nd. A ministerial meeting was held in which Erik Scavenius and the Minister of Transport, Gunnar Larsen, pressed their colleagues hard to make them agree to the signing of the Pact, but in vain. All the other Ministers were against joining.

During the afternoon the German Minister in Copenhagen, von Renthe-Fink, summoned Prime Minister Stauning and brought so much pressure to bear on him that not only did he give in, but also the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, Johs. Kjærbøl, and the Minister of Justice, Thune Jacobsen.

At this stage of the negotiations there were rumours that a special protocol was to be attached to the Pact, in which it was to be made clear that Denmark's adherence to it would affect only her internal affairs and would have no bearing on the foreign policy of the country.

At a new meeting of the Ministers, on Saturday night, the position was this: five Ministers voted for Denmark's adherence to the Pact, while seven were decisively against.



The Germans established their headquarters in Copenhagen at the Hotel d'Angleterre. The Danes have to endure the sight of the Swastika flying alongside the "Dannebrog," the Danish flag, in the heart of Copenhagen.

When the German Minister was informed of this result he immediately got into contact with Berlin, and early on Sunday morning he received final orders from the Wilhelmstrasse. A few hours later he handed the following ultimatum to the Foreign Minister :

Denmark must immediately sign the Pact. If not, Germany will cancel the agreement of 9th of April, 1940, and Denmark will be regarded as an enemy country and must face the unavoidable consequences.

So on Sunday night under duress the State Council, headed by King Christian, found no other alternative but to give in and accept the German demands.

I learn that it was Scavenius himself who drew up the wording of the agreement and submitted it to the Germans before the Danish government knew anything about it. The Germans accepted the draft ; it seemed to be perfectly satisfactory—from a German point of view.

When Scavenius was already in Berlin, his colleagues in the government decided that the wording of the Pact was unsatisfactory. Admittedly it was stated in one paragraph that Denmark was not obliged to take part in warlike activities, but another paragraph (paragraph '1') might be interpreted as an expression of gratitude to the Germans. The government found this un-neutral and during a telephone conversation with Scavenius demanded that it should be altered. The Germans reacted at once, declaring that the paragraph which exempted Denmark from warlike activities would also have to be altered if paragraph 1 was to be rewritten. They also intimated what direction their demands would take. The Danish government again had to give way. Scavenius's Pact could not be altered.

The announcement of Scavenius's journey to Berlin and the signing of the Pact was too much for the Danes. Widespread demonstrations started in Copenhagen on the 25th, and the streets resounded with cries of "Down with the traitor," "down with Scavenius" from the afternoon till late at night.

As in so many other European capitals, the students led

the demonstrations. Several hundred students gathered in the afternoon in the square outside the Castle. Apparently it was their intention to hand over a resolution to the King, but the student of theology who started reading it aloud was arrested by the police, who at the same time tried to force people back. But the crowd grew from minute to minute. When the police advanced towards them people started singing "King Christian," and against a crowd loyally singing the National Anthem in front of the Royal Palace, the police felt helpless.

From the Castle the crowd, which by now ran into several thousands (Swedish papers estimate it at ten thousand), marched to the House of Parliament and the Foreign Office.

During the evening there were demonstrations in the Town Hall Square, in "Kongens Nytorv" and at the "Freedom Memorial" (erected to commemorate the abolition of compulsory residence on the lord's domain in the 18th century). The police fired warning shots. Projectors fitted to police cars were directed against the crowd.

Many bloody clashes occurred during the day between the police and the demonstrators, of whom a great many were arrested.

Denmark's enforced adherence to the Anti-Comintern Pact was soon to prove itself a decisive factor in subsequent political developments in Denmark.

While the Rigsdag was in recess over Christmas, the Quisling ministers Scavenius, Gunnar Larsen and Thune Jacobsen, at the instigation of von Renth-Fink, took the opportunity to prepare the way to introduce into Denmark the German Nuremberg Laws against Jews. At a special Cabinet meeting on January 1st, 1942, the proposals were rejected by all the other ministers, and Stauning refused to present the proposals to the King. When Scavenius subsequently approached the King and asked him to over-ride the Cabinet, the King refused and indicated that he would approve the proposals only if they received the unanimous support of Parliament.

The Germans thereupon demanded that the laws be accepted forthwith. In reply the King announced that if they persisted in these demands and attempted to force their acceptance, he would abdicate.

CHAPTER 4

The Fifth Column

Danish Nazis failed in gaining Power

WHILE the German soldiers in Denmark are the natural enemies of the Danish people and are therefore hated, the feeling towards the Danish Nazis is more one of contempt. These Danes, who of their own free will run the errands of the enemy who has conquered their country, have a rough time of it in Denmark. The Danish Nazis no doubt hoped and believed that they would get the chance of taking over politically in Denmark, once the Germans were there, since they could never have achieved power in a lawful parliamentary manner. Any hope now that the Germans would use force in order to bring the Danish Nazis into power is fading away, in view of the German experience in Norway, which is presumably why the Germans hesitate to replace "a government of Marxists with one of loyalists." The Danish Nazis do everything they can to ape and flatter the great model on their southern frontier, but it is more than doubtful whether this will bring them any nearer their goal. The experience of all the other subject countries in Europe shows that, while the Germans make use of traitors, they hardly ever trust them with any important tasks.

The numerous Danish Nazi parties, all fighting against each other, have existed for many years in Denmark, but it was only at the 1939 elections that the largest of these parties, led by Fritz Clausen, gained three seats in the Lower House. At these elections 31,000 Nazi votes were recorded in the whole of Denmark, out of a total of 1,700,000 votes. In other words, the Nazis in Denmark at that time represented only 1.8 per cent of the electors. They did not get the majority in any one constituency, but since the

members of the Danish Parliament are elected according to proportional representation, the Nazis succeeded in getting three representatives in the Lower House at the sharing out of the additional seats. At the elections for the Upper House in the same year, and at which only the over thirty-five's are entitled to vote, the Nazis only polled 15,900 votes, which, of course, was insufficient to secure them a representation.

It is interesting to note that Fritz Clausen's party took part in the elections to the Lower House as early as 1932, on which occasion it polled the staggering figure of 757 votes in the whole of Denmark. At the next elections in 1935 their supporters had increased to 16,257.

The kind of people who have joined the Danish Nazis have nearly all been opportunists or renegades—people who had been excluded from other political parties or those whose lack of ability prevented them from getting anywhere in the Youth Organisations of recognised parties, and whose political ambitions made them join a party in which even the most glaring mediocrity had a chance of making headway, since it was only necessary to shout, create disturbances and provoke street fights. Indeed, German interference with youth in Denmark has been largely confined to support for the hooligan activities of the Nazi party of Fritz Clausen, the Danish Quisling.

It is indicative of the reputation of the Clausen Party that a well-known Liberal paper like the *Aarhus Amtstidende* should have courage enough to write, as late as December, 1940, that is eight months after the invasion, that the Clausen party is crowded with people whose past is recorded in the police annals. The paper further stresses that internal strife between the group leaders of the Clausen party has revealed that there is a considerable number of convicted criminals among them. Therefore, it is not without reason that the Danish Nazis have always been despised by the level-headed middle class. Even to-day, when it might be expected that the Danish Nazis enjoy some measure of protection from their German partisans, the average citizen

shows his contempt for these traitors in no uncertain manner ; his contempt is indeed so crushing that the Danish Nazis wriggle like worms under the scorn and ridicule which meet them everywhere. The Nazi papers themselves have repeatedly let the cat out of the bag on this point. Thus the Danish Nazi paper *Fædrelandet* whines : " The Danes believe that all Danish Nazis are Nazi swine and traitors." Rather a crushing indictment coming as it does from their own quarters.

Last year the same paper complained that the leader of a local group of Nazis had one day found a black flag bearing the word " traitor " flying half-mast from his flagpole. At the same time his shop windows were covered with posters urging people to boycott him because he associated with the German military, and was therefore a traitor to his country.

The contributors to another Danish Nazi paper, *National-socialisten*, also seem to have had a hard time of it, and on June 5th this year they could no longer keep their indignation to themselves. They wrote : " We will just for once describe what it has cost us to be Nazis. We have acquired the hate, scorn and contempt of our countrymen, who call us Nazi swine and traitors. Our children are being ostracised and assaulted. The police always persecute us ; we are dismissed from our employment, economically boycotted ; the authorities deliberately annoy us ; we are the object of family quarrels and have in many cases lost our acquaintances, friends, wives and children."

The *Nationalsocialisten* also bitterly complains that one of its contributors had been given notice by his landlady. " I do not want a Nazi," she said. " The time may come when I am forced to let to Nazis, but I refuse to shelter any as long as I am in charge."

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It is typical of the opportunism which is one of the characteristics of Fritz Clausen and his supporters that the Danish Nazis before the invasion always swore solemnly that they had no connection whatever with the German Nazis ;

indeed, they went so far as to say that they, being true Danes, were enemies of the German Reich. If we go back to 1919 we will find the name of Fritz Clausen among those advocating that Denmark, under the Versailles Treaty, should try to get back as much as possible of the German part of South Jutland, districts where there was a German majority. One of Clausen's present followers, Count Bent Holstein, a professional renegade, who has made the whole round of the political barometer, was also at that time to be found at his side. Count Holstein called himself a solicitor, and used the name of Holst after having delivered a number of propaganda lectures. He urged people in South Slesvig to rebel against Germany. He also went to Versailles to try to secure that the frontier was forced further southwards than the plebescite warranted; furthermore, he was the author of anti-German pamphlets.

The *Danish Socialdemokraten*, in December last year, brought to light this episode from the past, and the charge was not denied.

It has long been an open secret that the Danish Nazis have for years received economic support from Germany. During the budget debate in November last year, Aksel Larsen, the Communist Member of the Lower House, asked the following question: "Where do the Danish Nazis get the money to pay for their enormous newspaper and poster campaign? At least a million Kroner is involved." Clausen replied feebly: "The suggestion that we receive money from Germany is an insult to both us and to Germany." But the manager of the *Fædrelandet*, Poul Jensen, never concealed the fact that the millions which it cost to run the paper came from foreign sources.

When Germany gained power in Denmark, there were, of course, some people who thought that the Danish Nazis would be the future rulers, and in the hope of personal advantages quickly joined the Danish Nazis under Fritz Clausen. Among these are, first and foremost, some of the leaders of the Farmers' Association (L.S.), the Peasant Party, and the League of Justice Union (Danmarsk

Retsforbund), which were represented in the Parliament, the Peasant Party with four members and the League of Justice Union with three. Several of these representatives have now openly joined the Clausen party. Furthermore, a number of Denmark's great landowners, most of them landed gentry, hastily came to the conclusion that it would serve their interests to form a "professional group" which supported Clausen and L.S. The fact that the Danish Nazis are now supported by this professional group, which includes some of the richest people in the country, is rather grotesque when one remembers the oratorical attacks of the Clausenists on "plutocracy."

Since the invasion, the connection between the Danish Nazis and Germany has, of course, become more apparent, although the Germans do not seem too eager to come to the assistance of their Danish counterpart when their own fellow-countrymen attack them. Again and again Danish Nazi papers report that numbers of Danish Nazis varying from fifteen to thirty go to Germany to take part in a few months' training course either in German labour camps or under the auspices of the Hitlerjugend, or any other of the "educative" institutions with which Hitler has blessed the Third Reich. In a paragraph in the *Fædrelandet* last December such a group of thirty Danish Nazis were described on their departure for Germany as "diligent, duty-conscious Danish S.A. men who were picked for managing Danish labour camps." German terminology apparently was quickly adopted by Nazis in Denmark.

It wasn't long before Danish Nazis had carried out on their own soil some of the ideas they got from Germany. In the presence of Danish and foreign correspondents the first Clausenist labour camp, "the Cimbrer Hut," was opened in Northern Jutland at the beginning of June this year, and it was stated on this occasion that seven more Nazi camps would be opened in the near future. In these camps leaders would be trained who would be "ready to do their bit when the Danish nation called upon them." Fritz Clausen was the main speaker and his speech was recorded only by UFA's

news reel service. While the Danish press did not see fit to mention the event, the German press was highly interested, and the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* wrote: "This contribution of the Clausen party cannot be overestimated, because the Danish government has not hitherto shown itself able to exert authority as far as labour service is concerned."

Clausen and his people are also in close contact with the Norwegian Quislings. *Fædrelandet* has reported several times that prominent members of the Clausen party have gone to Norway. When the legal adviser of the party, Bryld, and the editor of *Fædrelandet*, Helge Bangsted, went to Norway on a study tour just after the execution of the Norwegian labour leaders in September this year, the Copenhagen papers asked in surprised tones how the two gentlemen could think of living in Norway in the present circumstances. The otherwise pro-German paper, *Berlingske Tidende*, wrote pointedly that Norwegian ideas would only impede Danish-German collaboration.

Long before the invasion, Fritz Clausen's youthful supporters often appeared in the police courts, charged with defying Danish laws prohibiting the wearing of uniforms. Since the invasion, these infringements have become more and more common. In October last year, the police had to intervene when 150 Nazis drilled outside Copenhagen in the forbidden uniforms. The first great encounter between the Danish authorities and the Nazis took place at a meeting in Haderslev in South Jutland in December last year. In violation of the government decree against public political meetings, 300 to 400 Danish Nazis, most of them in uniform, had gathered outside the town and armed themselves with picks and spades for the march to the meeting hall. The local police inspector and his ten constables barred the way against the procession, but the Nazis forced their way through and started the meeting while the police and some of the Nazis were still fighting. More police had to be called in. Ten persons had to be taken to hospital, and between 200 and 300 people were arrested before order was restored. Among those arrested was the special correspondent of

Fædrelandet. The police found 31 lbs. of revolver ammunition hidden in a flower-pot in his room. Most of the arrested were released the next day and were later fined, while thirteen of the ringleaders were detained until they were brought before the court.

On June 6th this year the Nazis arranged a gigantic meeting in Copenhagen in which, according to the *Fædrelandet* about 6,000 Danish Nazis took part, besides many prominent German "guests," officers and members of the German S.S. and S.A., and also German press representatives. Thousands of Copenhageners gathered outside the meeting hall to demonstrate. Violent fighting broke out, and a number of Nazis were taken to hospital.

At another huge meeting early in the spring, Clausen tried to make capital out of the Danes' feelings for those who fell on April 9th, 1940. A wreath which the Danish Nazis had placed on the memorial for the fallen Danish soldiers was removed by the public and thrown into a public lavatory. After the meeting, when Fritz Clausen started to march through Copenhagen with several thousands of the audience, he and his supporters were attacked by upwards of 50,000 infuriated Copenhageners; the Nazis were completely beaten up and took to their heels. The crowd then marched to the editorial offices of the two Nazi papers *Fædrelandet* and *Nationalsocialisten*, where they smashed the windows and carried furniture and heaps of newspapers into the streets and burned them. It has not been heard whether the police tried to intervene in these anti-Nazi demonstrations, but much seems to indicate that the Danish police turned a blind eye when the crowd took upon itself to beat up the Nazis. Before the Thune Jacobsen era there was ample evidence that the police showed their sympathy for Danish public opinion. In May this year *Nationalsocialisten* complained that newsvendors of the Clausenist papers in Aarhus were insulted and spat upon in the streets and that this gave the impression that the Nazis were "outlaws." In the same article the paper alleges that the Chief of Police in Aarhus, having arrested 120 S.A. men, did not try to prevent the

windows being smashed at the local Nazi district office and always kept away when the crowd attacked the Nazis.

Before the invasion the Danish Nazis contented themselves with accusing the Jewish race in general and the Danish Jews in particular for being the cause of Denmark's alleged economic and social difficulties. After the invasion, the demand was raised for the dismissal of all Jews or people of Jewish origin from public positions. Bremen radio last summer reported that a decree to this effect had been issued in Denmark, but confirmation of this has never come forth. When Thune Jacobsen had his law against the Communists passed, the Nazi paper *Kamptegnet* wrote that this was an overture to a law against the Jews.

Now it must be said right away that the number of Jews in Denmark has never been great. The number of orthodox Jews hardly exceeded 6,000, though, of course, the number of people with one Jewish parent or grandparent was far higher. The Danish Nazis themselves have given the figure of these as being between 20,000 or 30,000 ; at the same time they stated that as a result of much inter-marriage it was extremely difficult to establish how great a proportion of the Danish population was of Jewish origin. But there has never been a "Jewish question" in Denmark. In the spring of 1941, the Danish Nazis opened a so-called "race political central office," the task of which was to furnish information about non-Aryan Danish citizens and their influence in Denmark. "Denmark, being ignorant of the most elementary political principles," wrote *Fædrelandet*, "must learn about the five essential European races and their influence on the fate of nations, and must be taught the vital importance of close collaboration between people of the same blood-strain. It is fatal to associate with the Danish-speaking international Jews, who wear national button-holes."

This race political office will also issue Aryan certificates which are compulsory for members of the Nazi Party.

As a part of the propaganda against the Jews, the Clausen party started some months ago a special paper, *Kamptegnet*

(signal to fight), which in an introductory article describes itself as the Danish "Stürmer" and greets "our German brothers and the genius of leadership of the Germanic race and Hitler with Germanic honour, loyalty and enthusiasm, determined to do anything to instruct the Danish Germanic people about Jewish activities in Denmark and abroad."

It is further stated that the *Kamptegnet* will "smash the traitors' front created by theological professors, Marxist traitors and legalistic Jewish lackeys who do not shrink from condemning their fellow countrymen to imprisonment and fines based on the mendacious testimony of Jewish criminals." And the article concludes: "Stupid people believe only what they see, but belief requires firm reliance on what one cannot see. Therefore believe those who speak to you through the *Kamptegnet* and join the Danish struggle for truth." It is not very likely that the level-headed Danes will fall for this flow of words.

The paper itself announced a week later that the chief of the traffic police in Copenhagen refused permission for a loudspeaker to tour the streets of Copenhagen, advertising the *Kamptegnet*.

As already mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, there were several Nazi parties in Denmark, but their number and mutual relationship changes continually. It was announced in the spring of this year that Fritz Clausen's party had been split up, some of the group leaders having left it to form a new political party under the name of "Den Danske Front" (The Danish Front). This new party publishes its own paper, *Dansk Front*, and Clausen's ex-Party Secretary is the editor. A few months later it was learned that "Den Danske Front" had formed a Council together with various other Nazi movements, such as the "Danish Union Party" and "Danish Assembly and Corporation Party," in order to discuss political collaboration. At the moment there are six or eight different political parties which, with greater or lesser differences, all preach the same doctrines, and all call themselves National Socialists. This fact is all the more interesting since it was Clausen's Party

which for a long time asserted that it was the one party which would rally the whole of the Danish population and which would bring an end to party strife. There were no longer to be different parties in Denmark—only one: Clausen's. These are Clausen's own words. The plain truth is that never have Danish politics been burdened with so many different and insignificant parties—and never has Denmark experienced political strife such as this.

CHAPTER 5

Danes Are Not Won Over

The German Cultural Propaganda

THE Germans realized at an early stage that their previous efforts by propaganda to nazify the Danes had poor results and that they must now, after the invasion, tackle the job more carefully. It was essential to have Danes with well-known names and enjoying a good reputation in Denmark to do this job, so as to create among the broad masses a faith in the New Order, which the Germans intended to introduce in Europe.

One of their moves was to form a Danish-German Society in Copenhagen at the beginning of August, 1940. The task of the society, according to official statements, is to further collaboration between Denmark and Germany in a series of spheres, especially of a cultural character. The committee of the society is composed of seven well-known Copenhageners with P. Knutzen, the director-general of the Danish State Railways, as Chairman; among the other members is the former Chief of Police, now Minister of Justice, Thune Jacobsen, and two directors of well-known concerns. Some of these members of the committee had been previously known to be pro-German and very interested in German conditions. But after the announcement of the formation of this Danish-German Society had been published last summer, a TIMES telegram from Stockholm stated that some of the members of the committee had been elected without their knowledge and consent and that their protests against this enforced election were of no avail.

From various sources in the free world one gets the impression that these gentlemen have not increased their popularity with their compatriots. And this apparently is

the reason why the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. P. Knutzen, who has been enthusiastically greeted on his journeys in Germany where he delivered lectures, has now felt obliged to send out a kind of defence for himself, a pamphlet with the title, "Topical Problems," in which he defends the pro-German attitude he has taken. This pamphlet has been sent to members of the Danish-German Society and to members of Parliament and Cabinet Ministers. Knutzen states in his pamphlet that he has never belonged to any political party and that the Danish government asked him last summer to take part in the formation of the Danish-German Society. Knutzen further advocates better relations between Denmark and Germany and declares that he went to Berlin to inform influential German quarters of the truth about Denmark.

The political confusion which seems to reign in Denmark is evident from the fact that this defence of Knutzen's has given the *Fædrelandet* an opportunity to attack him for being a supporter of Prime Minister Stauning and the parliamentarians.

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German camouflaged propaganda also uses other means. There have been various German concerts and exhibitions in Denmark; for example, an art exhibition, a book exhibition, and in Copenhagen an exhibition called "Life and Learning," at which Denmark's collaboration was invited in a cultural interchange to promote the health and good relations of the peoples, according to the opening speech on April 18th this year.

Several members of the Danish government, Foreign Minister Scavenius, of course, included, were present at the opening; the German Minister in Copenhagen and representatives of the German Foreign Office as well as the German Commander-in-Chief in Denmark, General Lütke, were also there. The Danish Minister of Education, Jørgen Jørgensen, who opened the exhibition, stressed that "the exhibition illustrated the basis of education and teaching in Germany, which differs widely from the foundation on which we work

in Denmark." He added that it was to be hoped that the two countries would learn from each other to the benefit of both. The German Minister, von Renthe-Fink, pointed out that Denmark was the first country to see this exhibition, and that this was a sign of Germany's friendly interest.

But in spite of all these smooth speeches and a good press these exhibitions have been failures. The Danes have shown remarkably little interest in them; and under normal conditions it is almost impossible to keep a Copenhagener away from any kind of exhibition, however dull and uninteresting.

It has also been suggested that professors should be exchanged between Danish and German universities, but this came to nothing; the university in Copenhagen refused politely, but firmly. Copenhagen University has on several occasions shown a determined will to resist all German rapprochements. Thus the University declined the German Minister's request for the loan of its beautiful Assembly Hall for the inauguration of the "German Academy." The University also refused to be represented on the committee of the 'Danish-German Society.'

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The establishment of a German Scientific Institute in Copenhagen is the latest attempt to gain a firm foothold within Danish cultural life, through which it is hoped gradually to influence the Danes and instil in them a little Nazi philosophy to help break down resistance from within. This institute was opened on May 4th this year, and, as the Germans so beautifully express it, is to implement "the development of Danish-German collaboration in the scientific and cultural spheres."

The institute is housed in a mansion in the district of Copenhagen where the new university buildings are rising, and consists of a science department to give advice with regard to studies, and a language department where language courses will be given. The institute possesses a library of some 10,000, volumes of more recent German literature



(Above) On September 14th, 1941, the work on a new route to Germany was started on the Island of Lolland. High German officials attended the launching of this scheme. The picture shows, *from left to right*: The German Minister in Copenhagen (von Renthe-Fink), the German Reich Minister of Transport (Dr. Dorphmuller), Reich Minister, Dr Todt, and the Danish Minister of Transport, Gunnar Larsen.

(Below) The opening of the German Scientific Institute in Copenhagen on May 4th, 1941. The German Minister, von Renthe-Fink, handing over the key of the Institute to the director, Professor Scheel, who is wearing a German professor's robe. In the centre are German university rectors in their historic robes.



which is also to be used as a public library and of which "much is expected."

Nobody can doubt that this institute will soon reveal itself as a Fifth Column in Danish cultural life. Six similar institutes have been opened in other countries which are infested with German "guests"; and the Danes understand very well that its purpose is to impose upon Denmark a German "culture" and a Nazi philosophy.

The inauguration, which was held in the ceremonial hall of the National Museum, was very formal and was transmitted on the Danish radio. Many German representatives, led by von Renthe-Fink and the Berlin Foreign Office representative Twardofski, together with people from various German universities, were present. Most of the members of the Danish government were there.

In the opening speeches it was emphasised time and again that the Germans want to respect other peoples' characteristics and, of course, those of the Danes in particular. But at the same time a mild reproach was voiced because "Denmark had in later years associated herself with countries which chose another path than Germany." All the same, the Danes were assured that the work of the German institute "would be concentrated on the period from the Reformation to the Romantic age," for which purpose the 10,000 volumes of recent German literature must presumably be of the greatest value!

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The likelihood that this new German Institute is really a Fifth Column in Danish culture, is further borne out by the fact that its chief is one Dr. Domes from Lübeck, a declared and convinced Nazi and, according to his own words when he first visited Denmark in 1936, also a member of the S.A. Dr. Domes is an old acquaintance of Danish students. In February, 1936, he was given a post as lecturer in German literature at the university in Aarhus, a post which he only held for one year. It was the first time a Nazi was employed by a Danish college, and the uneasiness of the Aarhus

University in employing him at all was shown in an official assurance that Dr. Domes was only to lecture on classical German literature which would not afford much scope for propaganda. The commotion created by the Aarhus students about the affair, however, prevented Dr. Domes from staying long enough to establish the connections which were necessary for his Nazi propaganda. That this was the real purpose of his visit to Denmark as early as 1936 must be taken for granted, considering the position he held in Germany. Since 1928 he was the leader of the cultural department at the *Nordische Gesellschaft* in Lübeck, the German government's special propaganda centre for Scandinavia. His opinion of Scandinavia and his attitude to the question of propaganda in these countries are illustrated in an article he wrote in *Nordische Gesellschaft's* official organ *Ostsee Rundschau*, in May, 1933. Among other things, he wrote that German cultural propaganda in Scandinavia had deteriorated to such an extent that Remarque's and Emil Ludwig's works were even used as university material. The reason for this must be sought in the earlier, that is to say pre-Nazi, democratic German propaganda. "And," continued Dr. Domes, "to counteract this earlier propaganda is one of the most important tasks in the cultural construction of the New Reich. It is necessary to start with discipline and energy to make the genuine spiritual currents flow again in the old channels over the Baltic to the North."

Now, at length, Dr. Domes has got a free hand. But there is every reason to believe that the students in Copenhagen will give him the cold shoulder just as they have done when other "apostles of culture" for German barbarism have appeared.

It has hitherto not been possible to obtain results with open propaganda, so this time the Germans have come masked in the name of science.

In this connection I should like to quote an interesting statement in the Swedish magazine *Nordens Frihet*, which writes in an article on January 30th this year, that the Danes consider German cultural propaganda as far too

aggressive and crude. "Do the Germans really think," asks the author of this article, "that the Danes will collaborate in the cultural sphere more than is strictly necessary, with a nation which has stolen their liberty and imposed unprecedented economic burdens on them and who has also humiliated their Norwegian brothers so cynically?"

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It was to be expected that the Nazis would also try to make propaganda in the schools, in order, as is their wont, to influence the children—the coming generation. But they do not seem to have tried this yet, although education has suffered in many cases owing to the fact that schools all over the country are requisitioned by the German military forces, who use them for barracks.

On the contrary, it is noteworthy that Danish Nazi papers, as late as July this year, contain complaints that the teachers in certain schools "quietly carry out not only pro-British propaganda, but also directly encourage hate and contempt for the Germans." It is even asserted that certain teachers have used whole periods of study explaining that Hitler is a criminal.

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The Press and Radio Muzzled

And what of the free and independent Danish press? Well, the press does still exist, but of those attributes *Danish* is the only one left, and even of that only some part of it. It is no longer free and independent, and has not been so since April 9th, 1940.

"Nobody bothers about reading the papers any more," says a letter smuggled out of Denmark, "they are bursting with German propaganda. It nauseates you to read them. The news boys now cry 'Papers! a pennyworth of lies and a half-pennyworth of advertisements.'"

It must, however, be stressed that for more than a year since that nightmarish 9th of April most of the papers have valiantly struggled to ignore or to circumvent Nazi orders. Since the German aggression against Russia, however, it

seems as if the press has become confused about the real issue, or else that the Germans are now tired of waiting for Danish public opinion to understand the blessings of the New Order, and have taken almost complete control of the press. The latter seems by far the more likely possibility of the two.

To be quite correct, it must be stated that even before the invasion the free and independent Danish press had to put up with certain restrictions. If a paper, and in particular a Copenhagen paper, wrote anything which was not quite welcome in Germany, the German Minister in Copenhagen, von Renthe-Fink, would make representations to the editor concerned. Many papers of course completely ignored such hints, but a few others, and among them one of the leading papers in Copenhagen, were generally known to let themselves be directed by the German Legation. When my articles from London during the crisis in September, 1938, had been given some prominence in one of the papers I represented, the *B.T.* (an afternoon paper which was affiliated to the above-mentioned leading paper), I was told during a visit to Copenhagen later in the year that I was no longer to write about German questions from London. And the paper sent a correspondent to Berlin. In the period that followed I was asked frequently to take a strictly neutral attitude. And shortly after war broke out, the *B.T.* informed me that they regretted they could no longer use my articles because I was too pro-British.

After April 9th the only foreign news allowed in the Danish press came, of course, from the official German news agency "D.N.B.", the semi-official "S.T.B." (Scandinavian Telegram Bureau), and the Trans-Ocean, and home news became more and more scanty. Censors were immediately installed at each of the bigger Copenhagen papers, and it was virtually they who were responsible for the contents of the paper. These censors, especially at the beginning, interfered considerably with the daily running of the papers. They complained, for instance, that pictures of Hitler or German war news were not given enough prominence, and they decided what ought and what ought not to be written about

girls who went out with German soldiers. A paper once printed a small paragraph about certain German expropriations, and the whole edition was immediately confiscated.

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The system of having a censor to every paper naturally became unbearable in the long run, and after long-drawn-out negotiations it was agreed that when an editor had doubts about an article it should be put before the chief of the Foreign Office Press Bureau for censorship. The editor was also responsible for not infringing the existing censorship instructions about treatment of certain subjects. The press was very carefully watched for information or opinions which could be conveyed to readers between the lines. It was, however, very difficult to kill their characteristic Danish wit. Thus the afternoon paper, *Ekstrabladet*, in Copenhagen once brought out an article with double space between the lines and explained it by saying that it made it easier for the readers to read between them.

On May 29th this year the Swedish weekly, *Nordens Frihet*, writes in detail about the Danish press. It is stated that the control to which the papers are submitted through the Foreign Office Press Bureau has made the chief of this bureau, Karl Eskelund, extremely unpopular in press circles, and he is considered far too weak and submissive in his dealings with the "foreign guests." It also points out that both the D.N.B. and the S.T.B. have too much influence in the ministerial Press Bureau. S.T.B., by the way, is an extremely interesting phenomenon. It was established in Denmark several years before the war and was run by a man who posed as a German refugee. Apparently he had large sums of money at his disposal and supplied Copenhagen and provincial papers with loads of material for a nominal charge. Most editors were, however, suspicious of this material, which was very cleverly camouflaged German propaganda. When the war broke out and the German correspondents in London returned to Germany, a young Danish journalist turned up in London representing the "neutral" news agency

Scandinavian Telegram Bureau. His stay in London lasted exactly two and a half days. After the invasion of Denmark S.T.B., of course, owned up and is now on equal terms with the Deutsches Nachrichtenbureau.

The Danish Foreign Office Press Bureau which knows that Scandinavianism is disliked by the Germans, banned references to a resolution by Danish students about a Scandinavian university in Gothenburg, although the German radio censor had passed it.

Certain news items are often held for days until the Germans decide in which form they may be published. Thus everybody in Denmark knew from the British radio and other foreign broadcasts about the Greenland agreement, concluded on April 9th, 1941, with the United States by the Danish Minister to Washington, Henrik Kauffmann, as the representative of the Danish King, although it was three days before the news was released, and then only for publication in the authorized German form. For some days the press published only official telegrams, thus implying their sympathy for Kauffmann.

The editorials very often show the influence of a superior authority.

A few days before Hitler's birthday in April this year Scavenius demanded that the papers should publish leading articles praising the Führer. This happened at a meeting of editors, and nearly all of them voiced their disinclination. The day after Hitler's birthday, the German press attaché in Copenhagen, Meissner, a fervent young Nazi with considerable influence, called the Copenhagen press together. He had often before shown unveiled dissatisfaction because the press was not ready enough to submit to German wishes. Now he raged against the papers for not having shown Der Führer enough attention on this occasion. Meissner, very much in earnest, demanded a change of attitude on the part of the Danish press, as he would no longer tolerate their passivity, as he called it.

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A long list of large and small fines shows that both the

Copenhagen and provincial newspapers were not at all eager to follow the German-inspired instructions. Even minor violations were often punished with big fines; one paper was made to pay 2,500 Kroner for writing that German soldiers had said that queues in front of food shops were a 'common sight in Paris; and another paper had to pay 5,000 Kroner for writing that Danish children ought to see German war films. A provincial paper was banned for three days, which is a flagrant violation of Danish law. The paper had received instructions not to mention the effects of an English air raid on German military targets in the vicinity, and the official statement declared that only one cow had been killed; the paper nevertheless managed to say what it wanted its readers to know, by writing that "the cow burned for three days." Several well-known political commentators have been forbidden to write and seven radio speakers have been dismissed, among them a leading agricultural expert, because they did not express an optimistic enough view on the prospects of Danish agriculture under the German occupation.

There are numerous things which must not be mentioned in Danish papers. The word "dictator" must not be used in connection with Hitler's and Mussolini's names. References to April 9th must be avoided, and the Free Danish Movement in England is naturally taboo. It also is forbidden to refer to the presence of German troops in the country, but nevertheless information about where the Germans are stationed has often reached us abroad through the Danish press or wireless. In particular, when there have been fires, it has several times been stated that German troops from the local garrison helped to put the fires out. Damage caused by British air raids on military targets must be published only in the authorized version, as appears from the example of the cow which "burned for three days." Christmas Möller's enforced resignation from the political scene must not be mentioned either, nor the resignation of Hartvig Frisch and Hedtoft-Hansen, and the theft of the Danish torpedo boats in February this year.

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With regard to other subjects of which the Danish press has been forbidden to write, it might be interesting to reproduce word by word some of the official instructions which were sent to the Danish press in 1940.

I quote the following from the free Danish newspaper in London, *Frit Danmark*.

On June 22nd, 1940, the Danish press was informed that: Information published by the National Bank regarding the balance of the Clearing Account with foreign countries must not be commented upon.

July 21st, 1940: Saturday night a British aeroplane dropped a couple of bombs near the South East coast of Zealand. One hit a small fisherman's cottage, which was demolished. The owner, who slept in the loft, was killed, and his sixteen years old son was seriously injured.

N.B.—Regarding the above no details whatever must be published, not even by the local press. Announcements of deaths must only contain the phrase: "has suddenly passed away."

On June 15th, 1940: In no circumstances must the daily press publish announcements or articles regarding the Re-Union Day* or the meetings, etc., held on the occasion.

July 26th, 1940: During the hearing in the High Court of the case against 149 members of the DNSAP (Danish Nazi Party), statements were made indicating that other people than members of DNSAP were involved in the disturbances in Roskilde at the beginning of July. These indications must not be mentioned.

And on August 1st, 1940: In the announcement sent out on Wednesday from Graasten regarding wanton destruction of property and infringement of the law prohibiting the wearing of uniforms, the Foreign Office Press Bureau requests that papers state only that the worker had painted on the roadway, so that the word "Swastika" is not mentioned.

* Territory ceded to Denmark by Germany under the Versailles Treaty was taken over by Denmark on June 15th, 1920, which is celebrated as Re-Union Day.

Of the Danish journalists, only very few have joined the enemy or the Danish Nazi press subsidised by the Germans. The Danish press is experiencing great difficulties and is not afraid of openly admitting this fact. The sober, well-reputed commercial paper *Børsen* wrote on May 17th: "It is frequently said that people have not the same confidence in the Danish press as before. We do not deny that there are things happening which confirm this; they are mainly due to the present circumstances to which the press is subjected. The press is cut off from some normal sources of information and the reader thus gets the impression of unification. Neutrality obligations and the occasion compel a strict reserve in the treatment of foreign politics. But all this should not throw suspicion on the attitude of the Danish press. Our first aim is to guard Denmark's national, social and economic interests and thus seek to bring Denmark safely through her present difficulties. If we are faced with new ideas, thoughts and plans, it is not the duty of the press to reject them, but to balance them and to estimate and express as freely and strongly as possible the Danish attitude and interests."

In spite of attempts from papers to manœuvre between what they would like to write and what the Germans will allow them to write, it is not always that they succeed. Thus a well-known and highly esteemed newspaper leader, the editor-in-chief of *Kristeligt Dagblad*, Helweg-Larsen, was suddenly dismissed from his post last summer. Of course the Danish press was not allowed to comment on this dismissal, and the readers were briefly informed that it was due to "special circumstances." An explanation is found in the Swedish *Göteborgsposten*, which reveals that the Germans forced the committee of the paper to dismiss Helweg-Larsen because he had expressed his joy at the fact that Yugoslavia refused to join the Three Power Pact. I do not know whether this statement is correct, but it sounds highly probable. And Helweg-Larsen was not the only editor who had to leave his paper. On August 28th this year H. P. Sørensen had to resign from the editorship-in-chief of *Socialdemokraten*, the

largest of the Social Democratic papers in Denmark. One of the reasons was that he had refused to publish some pro-Nazi articles, written by a well-known Danish author, who had for many years been a contributor to the *Socialdemokraten*. This author had been on a tour in Germany and written a series of articles about his impressions of the Third Reich. Pressure was brought to bear, and the articles appeared with the comment that they did not express the editorial point of view. H. P. Sørensen was removed.

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Part of the reason for a certain weakening in the attitude of the press, is no doubt that the pro-German elements seem to have gained the upper hand in the government. This became clear for the first time on June 26th, immediately after Germany's aggression against Russia, when the Government sent out its astonishing statement, which was widely commented upon in the Danish press, and for the first time since April 9th last year the papers seemed to be unanimous in praising the government. Even a paper like *Borsen*, which had hitherto been very independent in opinion and decisively anti-German, has been forced to write that the interests of Germany and the Nordic states are now closely linked up, and that Germany has proved that she will "fight for Nordic interests." The conservative paper, *Nationaltidende*, even goes so far in its enforced hypocrisy as to declare that the Danish government by this statement has spoken on behalf of all, or at least an overwhelming majority of the Danish people, and the paper continues: "The statement in itself is in a way unique, as we are used to the government declaring the strictest neutrality in such situations. In view of the Danish Foreign Office's usual terminology, the statement creates an effect by its very tone." As a natural consequence of this official attitude the only Communist daily in Copenhagen, the *Arbejderbladet*, and the periodical, *Kultur og Politik*, were banned.

Now it must not be forgotten that the Germans with the lure of a "struggle against Bolshevism" managed in a

devilishly sly manner to inflame even a number of anti-German Danes, because Communism as an ideology has never been popular in Denmark. It seems, however, that public opinion has already swung round again. After some months of war in Russia, most Danes apparently realize that the Russian people defend their soil as a nation and that it is no "holy Crusade" on Germany's part.

A leading provincial paper, *Jydske Tidende*, provides interesting proof of this, when on 28th September it published next to a prominent report of a Danish meat market scandal, a report of one of Germany's greatest victories on the Eastern front under the extremely doubtful heading: "The Germans announce." The violent criticism of the *Nordschleswigsche Zeitung* showed that the malice was not lost on the Germans.

The well-known authors, Dr. Wilhelm la Cour and Arne Sörensen were sentenced on August 5th, 1941, at Copenhagen Town Court, to eighty and sixty days' imprisonment respectively for having published in the spring of 1941 a pamphlet entitled "Words to us to-day." It is stated that the contents of this pamphlet are considered likely to damage Denmark's relationship with foreign powers. The pamphlet was confiscated. Six months ago another pamphlet written by Dr. la Cour and entitled "About saying Yes—and No" was also confiscated. The former pamphlet had a direct bearing on conditions in Denmark after the invasion and was an attack on the Nazi philosophy. The two authors, who in writing and speeches have repeatedly shown that they are true Danes with courage to go against the Germans, were received in audience by King Christian in September this year. This caused furious outbursts in the Danish Nazi press, which was thoroughly disgusted with the King for "abusing his Royal Powers."

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The radio is, of course, subjected to the same German control. When Hitler speaks, Kalundborg has to relay the whole speech and immediately afterwards the Danes must suffer a detailed translation. It is naturally common radio

practice everywhere to lead in a long communique or statement by saying : " Here is the latest German communique " or " the D.N.B. reports," etc., and to repeat at the end " that was the latest German communique," etc. ; but when listening in to Kalundborg we seem to have discerned sometimes a slight sarcasm in the otherwise passionless speaker's voice ; a sarcasm which we feel strongly tempted to interpret as : " I have warned you ; I told you it was a GERMAN communique, and don't you believe it."

When neither press nor radio can give people real information about happenings abroad and not even the truth about events in their own country, they seek other sources. Several Swedish papers, among them the strongly pro-British *Goteborgs Handels-och Sjöfartstidning*, had thousands of subscribers in Denmark until recently, when it was banned. It has not yet been prohibited to listen to foreign broadcasts, and the Danish bulletins from London are extremely popular. Partly through letters received via Sweden or America and partly through the very few people who have succeeded in getting out of Denmark, I have learnt that an overwhelming majority of Danish listeners follow the broadcasts from London. Up to a year ago, that is several months after the invasion, it was still common practice for people in restaurants, cafés and bars to switch on the wireless when the Danish bulletins from London were read. This has now been forbidden, and it has even become a punishable offence to pass on information heard on the wireless if such information clashes with the " official facts " given in the German communiqués. But the Danes still listen to the British wireless. The Nazi periodical, *Kritisk Ugeevue*, complained in September this year that " all Danish homes that listen to the British radio are convinced that only there can they hear the truth, and that the German announcements are only propaganda which is being forced upon Denmark."

In this connection I add an interesting little point, the knowledge of which I owe to the Danish Nazi paper *National-socialisten*. In a violent article on May 15th this paper demanded the confiscation of a so-called " radio press card "

giving the wavelengths and times for the Danish bulletins from the B.B.C. According to the *Nationalsocialisten* this card was widely sold in Denmark.

Private information is also circulated in Denmark. The Danish press mentioned in December last year that two men had been imprisoned for twenty and thirty days and an old lady for a fortnight for circulating "chain letters." Patriotic Danes have started these chain letters so as to give forbidden news the widest possible circulation; they are little type-written slips containing news or appeals to the Danish people to rally to the struggle for Denmark's independence and national honour.

These little bits of paper are quietly slipped into the hands of people in the streets or in the trams. In this way the Danes have been told of the Foreign Minister's negotiations with the Germans about a Danish-German industry union, customs and currency union, etc. The recipient of the chain letter is requested to copy it out as many times as possible and to pass the news on.

German news reels showing war news are extremely unpopular in Danish cinemas, and when they are shown with a bigger film, people usually do not enter the cinemas till the news reel is over. To counteract this the Germans have now engaged two Danish film photographers, and the weekly news will contain 30 per cent. Danish, 10 to 20 per cent. foreign news and 50 to 60 per cent. German war news.

CHAPTER 6

The Economic Plundering

German Financial Tricks

DENMARK'S position under the German occupation is exactly the same as the other occupied countries as far as German economic plundering is concerned.

What is the significance to Great Britain of Denmark and her internal affairs? I need mention only three things. Danish bacon, Danish eggs and Danish butter. But how many know that Denmark was also Great Britain's third largest customer in Europe? In 1937 Germany was the largest customer of Great Britain and imported £21.62 million worth of goods. Second came France, who spent £21.40 millions in Britain, and then Denmark with £16.88 millions. If these figures are compared with the populations of these three countries, Denmark is far ahead of the others, as exports from Great Britain to Denmark represented an amount of £4 9s. 5d. per head, while the British exports to Germany represented only, 6s. 4d. per head, and those to France, 10s. 3d.

But while Denmark was a good customer in Great Britain, she also exported considerable quantities over the North Sea, and thus played an important part in keeping Britain's larders stocked with high-grade goods. The main exports from Denmark consisted, of course, of agricultural produce, and England, in her turn, was Denmark's biggest customer, although also France, Belgium and the Netherlands were big consumers of Danish goods. To such an extent had Danish agricultural produce become commonplace in England that the general public often did not realize that it was foreign produce but considered it their own. A Danish agricultural expert who visited England some years ago was told the

following story. A workman's wife had been to the grocer's to buy bacon, and discovered that he had served her with foreign, non-Danish, bacon. Contemptuously she slammed it down on the counter and said "I asked for DANISH bacon, I won't have this foreign stuff."

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The official figures for 1938 show that England bought £16,200,000 worth of bacon, about £12,700,000 worth of butter, about £4,460,000 worth of eggs, and other produce to the value of about £850,000, a total of £34,210,000 worth of export trade to Great Britain during one year—the last year of peace.

In comparison, Denmark during the same period exported only about £11,800,000 worth of agricultural produce to Germany, while the exports to other countries amounted to about £2,700,000. In 1939 the bacon delivery to Great Britain increased by 6 per cent., while that of butter and eggs decreased by 10 per cent. and 3 per cent. respectively. During 1939 exports to Germany increased by 22 per cent. for butter, 20 per cent. for eggs, and 22 per cent. for livestock.

The reason for this re-shuffle in Danish agricultural exports did not lie with the Danes; they would much rather sell to Britain, where they knew they would be paid, than to Germany, where instead of direct payment a balance was saved up which could only be used for purchasing other goods from Germany under a Clearing arrangement between the Danish National Bank and Germany. The reason was to be sought in England, who had through the years bought steadily increasing quantities from Denmark, in consequence of which Danish production was increased in order to keep pace. When England suddenly had to take less from Denmark owing to consideration for the British Dominions, Danish farmers were left with large stocks of perishable goods which they had to get rid of somehow; and Germany was more than satisfied to get a larger percentage of Danish agricultural produce than before.

The Germans have since developed their trade with

Denmark, so that it has become a purposeful and sinister exploitation. Now, Danish farming cannot continue without imports of fertilizers and, what is at least as important, feeding stuffs like oil-cakes and maize, which she bought largely from Great Britain and America. At the same time Denmark's foreign trade has become very much one-sided, since Germany is now almost the only country left for her to trade with.

Denmark does not at the moment import very much—Germany sees to that—but export trade is “booming”; that at least is the impression one forms by studying the Clearing Account of the Danish National Bank with Germany. Foreign debts, that is to say German debts, on the Clearing Account on April 30th this year amounted to 490 million Kroner; on May 31st it had increased to 542 million Kroner, and by November 30th the balance outstanding was 849 million Kroner in Denmark's favour; that is roughly the amount for which Germany has got goods in Denmark since the invasion. This balance will become higher and higher still. It will never be paid, however, not even by the purchase of goods in Germany, since those few things which Germany chooses to spare are seldom what Denmark needs. For example, Denmark, who must import every bit of coal she uses, was desperately short last winter. Petty regulations about heating only one room in each flat or house were issued, while Germany, a big mining country and in debt by millions of Kroner, would not supply her with any coal.

This method of exploitation is in fact very ingenious. Germany ensures that farming in its present form is continued as long as possible by paying the exporters of agricultural produce very good prices. The National Bank in Denmark is then obliged to settle the invoice amount in Danish Kroner with the Danish seller and debits Germany on the Clearing Account. The Danish farmers are, of course, paid in paper money which loses in value day by day. For the time being they are wealthy in paper money, but they cannot use this to buy some of the things they so desperately need.

The result is, of course, that Danish farming is irrevocably

nearing ruin. Livestock has been cut down to an absolute minimum on account of the shortage of feeding stuffs. The yielding power of the soil is being destroyed through lack of fertilizers, which are indispensable to a soil tilled almost down to the last square inch ; the size of the country does not allow for any great waste areas, and when the same soil is to bear crops continuously, fertilizers must be used generously.

When Denmark's soil is exhausted and most of the livestock gone, then her most valuable asset and her pride, her farming, will be totally ruined.

Complete economic dependence is intended for Denmark in the New Europe. The farmers will be limited to producing only certain things which Germany needs, but she will see to it that only a small number of people is engaged in this so that they will not constitute a political entity, and will therefore be unable to voice any demands. Industry will have no better prospects as, of course, all main industries will be concentrated within the German frontiers. If the customs barrier between Denmark and Germany is lifted, Danish industry will be doomed ; wages alone would be reason enough, since they would prevent Danish workers from competing with the Germans. But while these things belong to the future, even if it is not a distant one, the economic plundering of Denmark is clearly already an inescapable fact and has been so ever since April 9th.

With regard to the Danish-German Clearing arrangement, there is also an account called " Sundry Debtors " which is a comparatively new phenomenon in the accounts of the National Bank, and for very good reasons it cannot be officially specified ; this account is a direct consequence of the occupation. The economic magazine, *Finanstidende*, stated in December last year that among other things it covered the German Wehrmacht's account in Denmark. On May 31st, 1940, the balance in Denmark's favour was 64 million Kroner, and on April 30th, 1941, it had increased to 593 million Kroner ; a month later Denmark had an amount of 647 million Kroner owing to her on this account alone. On December 31st, 1941, it had reached 907 million.

Both this and the actual Clearing balance are colossal amounts for Denmark, and as they are all due to unpaid exports and other German transactions, they might as well be written off right away as very dubious indeed. In reality the German occupation has cost Denmark in a year and a half more than 1,700 million Kroner. In other words, the Germans force the Danish National Bank to finance Danish exports to Germany simply by putting more and still more paper money into circulation. And since Denmark does not get goods in exchange for her exports to Germany the result in Denmark itself is more money and less goods. This, as we know, means rising prices and devaluation, inevitable inflation with all its sinister consequences.

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The Danish press has long ago foreseen that inflation could not be avoided. In November last year the Danish Nazi magazine, *Kritisk Ugerevue*, urged the government to adopt an entirely new economic attitude, since this was the only way in which a complete break-down could be avoided. The paper admitted the enormous German debt on the Clearing Account, on the backing of which the Danish National Bank had already issued new paper notes. The Social Democratic paper, *Demokraten*, in Aarhus refers to a speech by the banker, Mr. Hassing-Jørgensen, M.P., in Aarhus in January this year, in which he said: "A revaluation of the Krone in relation to the Mark is the only means of avoiding inflation and the resulting social catastrophe."

With reference to the international value of the Danish Krone, it has remained at the same level to sterling with a value of 22.40 Kroner to the £ in continuation of the policy embarked upon at the beginning of 1933. That this has been possible is partly due to the fact that during the year 1936 long-term foreign loans were raised by the public to an amount of 46 million Kroner, and partly on account of the increased foreign earnings in shipping.

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No doubt considerable attention was aroused when the Copenhagen paper *Berlingske Tidende* published in July this year an article under a four-column heading about so delicate a subject as the "Clearing Account" and "Occupation Costs." The author of this article is the well-known Doctor of Technology, Rud Christiani, Member of the Upper House.

In the article he establishes the fact that there are several reasons for the increasing prices. One of them is the extraordinary glut of money resulting from the financing of exports by the National Bank. At the same time, Dr. Christiani writes: "We have had to provide the amounts appearing on the account 'Sundry Debtors.'

"Thus 1,300 to 1,400 million Kroner have come into circulation and a corresponding supply of commodities is not available. It is clear to everyone that this must create an artificially swollen war standard which, on the surface, resembles prosperity, but in reality is exactly the opposite."

"Another reason for the high prices," he continues, "is the present currency policy, which has been very harmful to Denmark's economy. The Krone-Mark rate of exchange which was valid on April 9th, 1940, has since been maintained, although it could not help but create a disparity between the Danish and the German price standard, since the basis of fixing this rate was Sterling. Since Danish commodity prices calculated on this rate of exchange were much lower than the German prices, the prices of Danish imports and exports have been forced" up considerably.

"Various committees have negotiated about prices for Danish agricultural commodities, and they have all tried to fix prices as high as possible. Very great increases were obtained, but, as was to be expected, the only result was that much larger prices had to be paid for imports. Unfortunately for the Danish people, import prices rose comparatively more than export prices.

"Since July, 1939, the price index for agricultural products has risen 76 per cent and the price index for imports 107 per cent. In the same period wages have gone up by only

19 per cent, and the standard of living deteriorated by 20 per cent, a fact which, of course, chiefly hits the smaller income groups like Old Age Pensioners and Invalidity Pensioners; also people who live on savings, and the lower classes of civil servants, who have hitherto had only just enough to live on, and who have therefore not had any nest-eggs for emergencies. Also many wage earners have reached a critical point where a further reduction of real wages threatens the welfare of their families."

A few days later another Copenhagen paper, *Kristeligt Dagblad*, published an article with the heading "Our Foreign Trade." In this it was stated: "Germany's ability to purchase our goods on credit in such a manner that payment by way of German goods would not be made till some future date, is shown by the 600 million credit balance on the Clearing Account, for which we cannot purchase imports at present. This clearing balance has appeared as a result of our exports since April, 1940, which considerably exceed our imports. The total exports for the year—1st of May, 1940, to 30th April, 1941—were 1,448 million Kroner, and imports during the same period were 1,251 million Kroner, which leaves Denmark an export surplus of 197 million Kroner. In the same period the clearing balance rose by 408 million from 71 to 479 million Kroner. The increase of the clearing balance to over double the export surplus, shows that the clearing account is used for payment of other items than those included in the statistical returns as exports," concludes the article.

This is further borne out by the fact that the amounts which the 45,000 to 50,000 Danish workers at present in Germany send home to their families in Denmark also pass the Clearing Account, and thus it is virtually the Danish National Bank which supports the families of all the Danish workers in Germany, while Berlin receives the equivalent in Reichmarks from the workers.

But there are people in Denmark who are aware of the seriousness of the situation and who have also the courage to say so in public in order to show people how Denmark is

being deceived by her conqueror. The well-known leader of Dalum Agricultural College, Johs. Petersen-Dalum, gave a lecture for his students in September last year. After having made plain Germany's intentions for Denmark and her place in the New Europe if Germany won the war, he declared: "As a member of the Agricultural Council I must say that I am not surprised that publication of certain commercial statistical figures is banned. I know the figures which were used at the trade negotiations and I will initiate this small circle into my knowledge." He thereupon proceeded to give figures which indicated what might be expected from the New Europe. Rationing in Denmark, he went on, was solely due to German plundering and German negotiators had enviously referred to the abundant tables of the restaurant Wivex in Copenhagen, when the Danish negotiators had objected to further excessive exports. He also criticised the German plan of sending Danish agriculturists to the Ukraine, and warned his young students against it.

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A few more figures will further illustrate the present situation. In accordance with current law (of April 6th, 1936), the Danish National Bank can issue notes on condition that the Bank has a gold backing covering at least 25 per cent of the notes in circulation. In the years 1937 and 1938 (the last year of peace) the National Bank owned gold to the value of 118 million Kroner. The circulation of paper money in 1937 fluctuated from 317 to 417 million Kroner, and in 1938 from 328 to 441 million Kroner. According to the National Bank's accounts for the year 1940, the gold reserve on December 31st, 1940, was 114½ million. On December 31st, 1941, the balance was 97.7 million Kroner.

According to the same accounts, the circulation of notes had risen by 60 per cent on December 31st, 1940, as compared with the last year of peace, and on March 31st, 1941, the circulation was 707 million Kroner (as against a maximum amount of 441 million in 1938), and on December 31st it had risen to 842 million.

But even the fact that so soon after the invasion Germany owes Denmark such an enormous amount (1,756 million Kroner, according to the latest figures, which equals more than half the assets of the Danish state before the war) can be exploited by the Germans for their own purposes, and the Nazi press was quick to seize on the chance. It tried to convince the Danish people that it was now economically interested in a German victory, since Denmark would otherwise lose every chance of having this debt paid.

While the threat of inflation is growing ever more real, as paper money is printed in ever larger quantities, so small change disappears. As Danish coins were of copper, as far as one, two and five-Örer are concerned, and the ten and twenty-five-Örer of a copper and nickel alloy, this fact must undoubtedly have some relation to the value of these two metals for the German war machine, and they are metals of which the Germans are very short. The British blockade has prevented Germany from importing the larger part of the copper she normally uses. In 1938 Germany imported 302,100 tons of copper. This figure constitutes 80 per cent of her total needs, and it came from countries from which she is now cut off by the British blockade.

In December, 1940, it was announced that the Royal Mint would stamp new one, two and five-Örer of an aluminium alloy in order to ease the acute lack of copper coins. In an interview with the *Börsen*, the director of the Royal Mint said that zinc was unobtainable. In April, 1941, it was stated that the issue of one and two-Kroner notes was under serious consideration, since it would make it possible to call in six million two-Kroner pieces and fourteen million one-Krone pieces, coins which consist of a copper and aluminium alloy with 97 per cent copper. Shortly after *Politiken* wrote that the banks had not received one-Örer pieces from the National Bank for many months. This shortage is becoming more and more acute. At the end of September this year, I learned that some co-operative societies in South Jutland had started issuing their own cardboard money tokens. The use of these is, of course, illegal except between members of



(Above) This picture was taken at a public gathering in Copenhagen on October 26th, 1941. In the front row are the Royal family. From left to right: Crown Princess Ingrid, King Christian, Queen Alexandrine and Crown Prince Frederik. As there is no coal for heating, the ladies have had to wrap themselves up in rugs.

(Below) To the left: The younger son of King Christian, Prince Knud with his wife Princess Caroline Mathilde and their two children. To the right: Crown Prince Frederik and Crown Princess Ingrid with their daughter Princess Margrethe.



the various co-operatives, but in this case practically the whole local population belongs to the co-operatives.

The figures published by the National Bank show a drastic decrease in small change. On December, 1937, small change to the amount of 38,969,000 Kroner was in circulation; on December 31st, 1938, the amount was 40,844,000 Kroner, but according to the Bank there was only 3.6 million Kroner worth of small change left on April 30th, 1941.

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Once a Land of Plenty

One of the results of the invasion was an immediate and steadily tightening rationing of nearly all commodities and a decrease in the general standard of living.

Let us first have a look at agricultural produce. The ever-growing lack of fodder meant that Danish farmers were forced to start a mass slaughtering of livestock, which in turn caused a drastic decrease in production of butter, eggs and bacon. That this lack of fodder was a catastrophe for Danish farming is seen from the many reports of malnutrition of livestock, which led to further slaughtering.' A veterinary officer in a North Jutland district stated in May this year that cattle were so emaciated that they were unable to stand, and fell in the fields. From many other parts of the country also come reports that animals often collapse when put to graze, and in many cases must be slaughtered on the spot.

A clear picture of the effect of this decrease in production during the first year of occupation can be gained by comparing export figures for 1940 with the corresponding figures for 1939.

Butter exports in 1940 were 108,000 tons, valued at 329 million Kroner, against 150,000 tons valued at 271 million Kroner, in 1939.

Bacon exports in 1940: 143,000 tons, valued at 311 million Kroner, against 190,000 tons, valued at 394 million Kroner, in 1939.

Egg exports in 1940 : 1,344 million, valued at 128 million Kroner, against 1,704 million, valued at 146 million Kroner, in 1939.

But exports of live pigs in 1940 were 753,000 which fetched a price of 115.2 million Kroner, against only 132,800 pigs priced at 25.2 million Kroner in 1939.

These figures were published in the *Nationaltidende* on January 30th, 1940.

As regards the increased exports of live pigs, the Agricultural Council stated that the shortage of fodder necessitated a cutting down of the stock by 50 per cent. The stock of pigs in Denmark was officially given as 2,990,000 on August 10th last year. In April this year the figure was 1,825,000.

In May and June this year it was officially stated that the expected seasonal increase in butter production had not yet been obtained. In July, it was authoritatively stated that butter production in the period May, 1940, to May, 1941, was 22.6 per cent less than the average of the last three years. Milk production in April this year was 34 per cent lower than in April, 1940, and 37 per cent lower than April, 1939. Egg production was still falling and was in April 43 per cent lower than in April, 1940, and 1939. This latter decrease is due to the enforced cutting down of poultry. In June, 1940, there were 21.9 million hens in Denmark, and in March this year the figure was 8.1 million.

Germany's demand for a commodity like butter caused a German reduction in import duty from 1st of April this year from 750 Mark to 500 Mark per ton.

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Immediately after the invasion the government was obliged to introduce rationing of a wide range of vital foods, among these bread, butter, eggs and margarine ; margarine production was later stopped altogether owing to the lack of necessary raw materials. Meat and especially pork was to be had for a long time in plentiful supplies owing to the enforced slaughtering of pigs, but now it is exactly the opposite. This summer there has been such a shortage of

meat that in Copenhagen people have had to queue up for hours to secure even a paltry ration. There have been days when not a single pig has been brought to Copenhagen's wholesale market. In September this year agricultural experts stated that pigs would presumably be non-existent next year if fodder could not be obtained somehow.

Fats soon became very scarce, but then fat is also one of Germany's war needs. Coffee, tea and cocoa were strictly rationed from the beginning, as also were coal and other fuel, in particular paraffin oil. Toilet soap was rationed at a very early stage to one tablet a month, and fat contents in soap have been gradually reduced. Soap substitutes are at present partly produced from soda. Reports have been published in Denmark to the effect that schools all over the country complain of an increase of vermin among the children, presumably owing to the bad soap and absence of hot baths.

Private cars have not been allowed petrol since the invasion. Only doctors have a minimum allowance. Paraffin oil must not be used for lighting, and the fuel rationing is arranged so that only one room in each flat or house may be heated.

An enormous rise in prices has prevented the main part of the population from buying more than is strictly necessary, and often not quite that. It is estimated that the fuel price, for instance, will be twice as much in 1942 as in 1941, and five times that of 1939-40.

The lack of raw materials after the German invasion has been the cause of many difficulties ; it has meant privation for the people and has also seriously reduced many forms of employment.

CHAPTER 7

Unemployment and Working Conditions

BEFORE this war there were few places in Europe where one would have found a working class which, generally speaking, was happier, healthier, more prosperous, and which enjoyed a better standard of living, than in Denmark. The trade unions were powerful organizations with considerable influence, and had contributed a great deal to the raising of the general standard of living in Denmark.

Relations between the Socialist workers in Denmark and the German Nazis were never very good. The Danish workers did not forget how the Nazis had treated their comrades, the German Socialists. The Socialist government of Stauning, however, was forced by circumstances to take a somewhat modified view of the masters of the great neighbouring country, with whom after all it desired to keep good trade relations. But when the German invasion took place the question arose: what about the Socialist government, what about the Trade Unions and all the elements which the Nazis had brutally weeded out in their own country? Apparently nothing happened and the Trade Unions in Denmark at the time of writing still exist. If one investigates more thoroughly; however, one realizes that although the Trade Unions do exist, their power is very limited, and that the day is perhaps not very far off when their importance will cease to exist as a result of German demands.

An indication of this development can be found in the *Socialdemokraten* on July 2nd this year, in the report of a speech by the President of the Danish Trade Unions, Lauritz Hansen, at a smiths' congress in Copenhagen. Mr. Hansen said: "It is no longer a question of higher wages, but of the continued existence of our free organizations. We are often

compelled to say Yes, where we would formerly have said No. We must now decide things at an hour's notice, sometimes instantly, and sometimes a single man must even make decisions. But the enlightened and disciplined Danish workers show solidarity and understanding for the circumstances."

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The fact that unemployment was considerable in Denmark was exploited to the utmost by the Germans after the invasion. Here they had found new ground on which to secure for themselves important advantages at the cost of the subjected country, in the same way as they had carried out their economic looting of Denmark. Just as Hitler's propaganda had attempted to convince the Danes that Nazi-Germany helped trade in Denmark by "buying" all goods and livestock, the same ingenious propaganda asserted that all unemployment in Denmark would vanish. There was certainly work enough to do—in Germany.

Shortly after the invasion a German employment exchange was opened in Copenhagen to recruit (or rather conscript) Danish workers for Germany. In June, 1940, the Copenhagen paper *Politiken* in referring to the Danish-German trade negotiations wrote: "It is stressed in German quarters that by giving Danish workers an opportunity of seeking work in Germany, Denmark would assist in securing sufficient labour for Germany's coal mines." Denmark had experienced a terrible winter, and with the prospects of another hard winter with no possibility of receiving coal from Great Britain, it sounded very tempting. It will surprise no one to hear that though Danish workers went to Germany and though quite a number of them worked in the coal mines, Denmark suffered more from lack of fuel during the following winter than ever before.

The number of unemployed reached a record height in January and February this year, when the figure was officially given as 197,000. This figure, however, only covers the

officially registered unemployed in Denmark. No account is taken of more than 25,000 workers who had let themselves be lured into taking work in Germany nor of about 35,000 who avoided total unemployment by the arrangement of limited working hours in industry, an arrangement which I shall deal with in detail later in this chapter. The real figure for unemployment during these two winter months was thus about 260,000. As the total number of organised and insured workers is about 485,000, this means that about half of the Danish workers were unemployed last winter. And it is certain that not even this figure describes the real situation. There was also unemployment among shop assistants, clerks, etc., but no official figures are available for these, since only a minority of these categories belong to a Trade Union.

In order further to illustrate these unemployment figures among organised workers, I should like to give a statistical survey for the last eight years :

Unemployment figures in Denmark.

1932 :	January, 103,300 ;	December, 138,300
		Lowest figure, 77,700 (May)
1933 :	January, 141,350 ;	December, 131,900
		Lowest figure, 73,300 (July)
1934 :	January, 122,600 ;	December, 114,250
		Lowest figure, 56,800 (July)
1935 :	January, 111,400 ;	December, 124,600
		Lowest figure, 48,800 (June)
1936 :	January, 111,360 ;	December, 127,500
		Lowest figure, 46,100 (June)
1937 :	January, 139,200 ;	December, 145,970
	(equals 33%)	Lowest figure, 58,792 (June)
1938 :	January, 123,189 ;	December, 133,314
	(equals 29.2%)	(equals 31.6%)
1939 :	January, 126,142	
	(equals 29.9%)	

1940 :	December, 130,000*
1941 : January, 196,100*	March, 196,180*
	(equals 34.8%)
April, 106,400*	May, 77,000*
(equals 18.3%)	(equals 11.6%)

The figures in this survey must be viewed in relation to the number of organised or insured workers, which are as follows :

1937 : 460,584 .. 1938 : 456,982 .. 1939 : 484,100

* * * * *

The Danish government had tried very hard before to remedy unemployment. Soon after the invasion, Parliament introduced a series of important new measures to safeguard industry by sharing work, and to promote investment by lowering the rates of interest and guaranteeing bank loans. To prevent an abnormal rise in prices and to remedy the effects of unemployment, the government at that time introduced new laws cancelling the previous policy of adjusting wages and salaries four times a year according to a statistically-computed price index. The wages were fixed according to the price index of January, 1940. And besides this regulation of wages and salaries they have tried to "share the work." In industry, where the greatest number was employed, workers had to let their unemployed comrades take their places for a time. Those thus deprived of their jobs were given a certain remuneration from an unemployment fund, created partly out of a government subsidy and partly from a tax payable by all holding jobs, including clerks.

The government has also tried to relieve unemployment by starting special emergency work. Thus work has been

* With regard to the figures for December, 1940, and January, 1941, it must be remembered that about 35,000 avoided total unemployment through the arrangement of limited working hours, and at least 25,000 were working in Germany. The real figure, therefore, must be somewhere near 190,000 and 256,000 respectively. As regards the later figures for 1941, an allowance must also be made for these items.

obtained for 100,000 men in six months at building repairs through government support and loans.

In the current year, the Ministry of Finance has already provided the sum of 500 million Kroner in the budget estimates for combating unemployment, and in September this year the government had to arrange for a new state loan of altogether 250 million Kroner for the financing of further employment measures.

Among other measures, the government established a special Employment Council under the Premier's chairmanship. This council is now considering schemes for providing relief work when agricultural summer work and peat production come to an end.

The Germans, being in need of foreign labour, were of course only interested in creating still more unemployment. Perhaps that is the reason for the pressure which the Germans have brought to bear on the Danish government in order to force a Danish-German Customs and Currency Union. If and when a union of this character is concluded between Denmark and Germany, it will throw thousands of industrial workers out of work, and there will be no other alternative for them than to take such jobs as the Germans offer.

Already, in December last year, the Conservative Copenhagen paper *Nationaltidende* wrote editorially that the proposed employment of about 50,000 Danes in Germany must be regarded as a virtual loss for Denmark. Our failure to solve the unemployment problem now allows Germany to take over our workers.

Apart from taking Danish workers to Germany, she also makes Danes work for her in Danish factories. Thus clothing factories, engineering and metal works, and, above all, shipbuilding yards, are kept busy with German orders. Germany, of course, besides taking advantage of Danish labour, expects Denmark to be grateful for this "trade."

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To start with, the Danish workers showed no interest at all in the German offers of work, but the Germans succeeded

in forcing through the arrangement that Danish workers could only receive unemployment benefit for a certain time, unless they could prove that they had tried to get work through the German labour exchange and had been rejected. The introduction of this German-dictated clause into the unemployment benefit rules forced considerable numbers of Danes to go to Germany, and the figure is now steadily rising month by month. Whereas in December last year there were about 25,000 Danes in Germany, the figure for July this year is between 45,000 and 50,000. Furthermore, increasing numbers of Danish labourers are sent to Norway. The Finnish paper *Arbetsbladet* stated in July that 1,000 Danes, together with 2,000 Germans and several thousand Norwegian workers, were employed in the harbour and dock installations in Trondheim, which have been taken over completely by the Germans and are being rebuilt as a German naval base, mainly for U-boats.

At the beginning of July, 150 to 200 Danish workers a week went to Norway. They were given free tickets and free food during their stay. Before they left Denmark each man received 100 Kroner in advance for clothes and other necessities. Wages are paid according to Copenhagen rates.

Naturally the Germans also promised favourable conditions for those who would take work in Germany. Each man's particular training would be taken into account, and they would be able to send money to their families in Denmark. In October last year a Trade Union secretary, Ejnar Nielsen, made the following noteworthy statement in an article in the *Socialdemokraten* about working conditions in Germany: "The workers live in barracks. They are sent where the Germans need them, irrespective of their professional training. Only heavy workers get extra rations. The others need food parcels from Denmark. They work at least sixty hours a week. Deductions for taxes, etc., in certain cases amount to 30 per cent."

As mentioned before, the money the Danish workers send to Denmark, the equivalent of which is paid to their families by the Danish Landmandsbank, never reaches Denmark, but

goes to the German Treasury. With regard to the food parcels mentioned in this article, announcements have appeared in Danish papers about the weight and cost of these standard parcels, which apparently can be sent once a month." A parcel costs 18.50 Kroner, or just under £1. It weighs about 5 lbs. and must be sent through the Danish Emigration Office in Copenhagen. With the present cost of living in Denmark, it is more than doubtful whether working class families can afford the price.

Eight thousand of the 25,000 workers who went to Germany in the autumn of 1940 came home to Denmark during the Christmas holidays. From the many serious admonitions to the workers through the Danish wireless urging them to go back and resume work in Germany, it appears that they have not been too enthusiastic about their stay in the Third Reich. Finally, it was hinted on the radio that workers who did not fulfil their obligations and return to Germany would forfeit their chances of unemployment benefit in Denmark.

In January, 1941, a Danish provincial paper gave further information about the conditions under which Danes work in Germany. The paper writes: "Contracts are not entirely satisfactory, because they are sometimes altered after the workers have signed and migrated. The circular of July, 1940, promises all married workers separation allowances. Large numbers have found, after enlisting, that allowances are given only in the building, military and certain metal industries. All the others have indeed signed under false conditions. Workers are also sometimes defrauded when remitting money home, because they misunderstand the language and formulae. Some employers refuse to assist applicants for remittance licences. Contracts guaranteeing certain classes of work are ignored; for instance, a barber engaged for light instrument-making was compelled to become a collier. Skilled builders receive the highest piece rate, which varies from 50 to 130 Marks weekly, but they have to pay 10 per cent of this in sickness and accident insurance."

A Dane who worked in Germany for a considerable time and then escaped, told me some of his experiences. Among other things, he said that when the Danish Emigration Officer visited the workers in Germany, he was shown only a specially favoured camp. He also told me of his suspicion that it was Danish Nazi deputies among the workers who spoke in interviews on the Danish wireless when individual workers told the Danish public how wonderfully they were treated in Germany and how happy they were in their jobs. He himself had been moved about from one camp to another without ever being asked whether he liked it or not. Once he was threatened with being dismissed and sent back to Denmark, and when he replied that there was nothing he would sooner do, the "threat" was dropped. Work at harbour installations in Hamburg and Bremen was mainly carried out by foreign slave workers, and the Royal Air Force attacks on these cities have therefore caused a considerable number of casualties among the foreign workers. During a single attack in June, for example, eight Danes were killed.

The Danes had one advantage, however, he said. When they were engaged on piece work, they earned more than any of the others, even more than the Germans themselves, because they are first-class workers, and they were not yet hampered by a long period of malnutrition.

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There is no doubt that it is the working class in Denmark which suffers most economically, and this resulted in a struggle about wages in August this year between the Trade Unions and the government. The outcome of it showed that the Danish Trade Unions have lost their power; they did not get the increase which they demanded and which the rise in prices justified. The Danish workers have made it clear many times that they did not mind necessary sacrifices, but they did not want to be the only class which had to suffer. The decision of the German-controlled government has therefore caused much bitterness among the Danish working class.

At an arbitration in March this year the workers were given an increase in wages of 8 per cent and the right to take up the wages question again in August if rising prices justified a revision. In August the workers pointed out that the price index for agricultural products had risen by 76 per cent since July, 1939, while wages had only gone up by 19 per cent, and the Danish press has openly stated that further decrease of real wages would threaten the welfare of workers. There has been no attempt to contradict the workers' claim that prices have risen to such an extent that the ordinary worker can hardly afford the bare necessities.

The most unfortunate aspect of the campaign is, however, that here for the first time the Germans have succeeded in driving a wedge between two classes, viz., the farmers, who are lured with high prices for everything they sell to Germany, and the workers, whose standard of living is going down as a consequence of the inflation which this German move has brought about.

PART II

Free Danes Fight

CHAPTER I

The Free Danish Council in London

WHEN a house burns, one calls the fire brigade, but at the same time the people living in the house, or owning it, also try to make themselves useful. That is exactly what has happened to the house Denmark, which was set on fire by the Nazi hordes. We now hope that the Allied Fire Brigade will succeed in putting out the fire and will rescue as much as possible of our beautiful house ; but we, whose house it is, do not stand by as idle onlookers. We do all we can, each in his own way, to help that gallant Fire Brigade.

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Immediately after the invasion of Denmark, free Danes who lived outside their country, and, of course, first and foremost the Danes in Great Britain, started to discuss what could be done to rescue Denmark and restore her thousand-year-old freedom and independence.

There is only a small number of Danes in Great Britain, normally only a few thousand, but to these must now be added about 3,000 Danish sailors who, with their ships, have England as their home base and sail of their own free will under the Union Jack for the duration of the war. It was obvious that, individually, the Danes could do nothing ; only as a body was it possible to make an effort together with Great Britain, who was already fighting the same enemy in a life and death struggle. A few Danes got together with the preliminary purpose of setting up an organisation. They invited several well-known Danes to join them, and on September 30th, 1940, the DANISH COUNCIL was formed under the motto: " With Great Britain for Denmark's freedom and independence." Through this organisation all

free Danes were to have the opportunity of supporting Great Britain and her Allies in the struggle for Europe's freedom, which meant the freedom of Denmark too.

At a public Danish national meeting in London on December 29th last year the programme of the Council was unanimously agreed upon by a large gathering of Free Danes, and on this occasion the British public was informed where the Danes stood. It was declared that the Danes realised that the restoration of Denmark's freedom and independence was closely linked up with Great Britain's victory, and that by helping Great Britain in her struggle they would also be serving Denmark's true interests.

Mr. F. Krøyer-Kielberg, chairman of the United Molasses Company was invited by the Free Danes to be the head of this movement, which was soon to have world-wide dimensions. He enjoys the esteem of the English and is considered the "first" Dane here in Great Britain.

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One of the very first things the Danish Council did was to start a paper, *Frit Danmark*, which is edited by a well-known Danish journalist, Mr. Emil Blytgen-Petersen, who was the London editor of one of the Copenhagen papers when the invasion took place. Through this paper it has been possible to get in touch with Danes all over the world. It started as a monthly paper but is now being issued weekly, and has subscribers in all parts of the world.

The Danish Council offered to the British Red Cross a recreation pavilion to be built in connection with Sir Harold Gillies's hospital in Basingstoke, as a token of gratitude for the excellent treatment Danish mariners had received here in 1923-27, after an explosion which occurred in a Danish warship which caused many casualties. This pavilion was opened in July this year.

Many of the Danish sailors in England have expressed their will to support Great Britain by asking permission to man a British destroyer or cruiser. The president of the Danish Council, Mr. F. Krøyer-Kielberg, discussed the matter

with the Ministry of Shipping and the Admiralty. After careful consideration, the Ministry of Shipping and the First Lord of the Admiralty came to the conclusion that they could not accept the offer, since they thought that the Danish sailors "did more for the cause of freedom by loyally manning Danish merchant ships sailing for the Allies than by enrolling in the British Navy."

As a token of the appreciation of the Ministry of Shipping, Danish ships under the British flag are allowed to fly the Danish flag on the foremast.

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Immediately after the formation of the Danish Council, the Executive Committee got in touch with the Danish-American Society in New York, informing them of the aims of the Danish Council and inquiring whether the Danish Council could count on the collaboration of the Danes in America. The Chairman, Mr. Caspar W. W. Hasselriis, pledged the full support of the Danish-American Society.

The Danish Council continued establishing connections with Danish associations and organisation in the free world. From Canada, the United States, Thailand, South Africa, Australia, Shanghai, and South America, came telegrams in which free Danes acclaimed the work of the Danish Council, and promised every possible help.

In order to strengthen this collaboration between free Danes all over the world, the Danish Council has gone one step further. It is their intention to create a real world association, the "Federation of Free Danes," which should comprise the association of "Free Danes in Great Britain and Northern Ireland," the head of which is the Danish Council, and similar organisations in the rest of the free world, and also to encourage those who want to join in the struggle on the Allied side to join the British military units which have opened their ranks to Danish volunteers.

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On February 18th this year the Danish Council was formally introduced to the British government and the

British public and was at the same time afforded practical proof of the official support and sympathy of His Majesty's government as a Free Danish Movement, which, through joining in the British war effort, is seeking to secure the restoration of Denmark's independence. This took place at a luncheon at the Dorchester Hotel, at which were present two members of the British government, Mr. Butler, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and, Captain Crookshank, Financial Secretary to the Treasury.

Through the Danish broadcasts from the B.B.C. the Danish people has been told about the Danish Council and its work. And through letters and other information which have reached me via Sweden, it appears that the Danes at home fully approve of what has been done. Indeed, people would have felt disappointed and deserted had not the Danes who were beyond the grip of the Nazis shown that they were indeed free and that they intended to let the world hear Denmark's true voice.

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Soon after the invasion the German authorities demanded that the part of the Danish merchant fleet which was available should be turned over to the Germans in time-charter, and the Germans declared themselves willing to pay good freights. The Danish owners refused to accept, stating that on a time-charter basis they would lose the right to dispose of their own ships. If the Germans had had their way it would have meant that they could use the ships for transports to Norway, and this was revolting to the feelings of the Danish people. The firm attitude of the owners made the Germans withdraw their demand, and the ships sailing in the waters within the Skagerak continued to be chartered in the open market, where every owner has the right to accept or refuse the freights offered. But the settlement is being made through the Danish-German Clearing Account, and thus it is virtually the Danish National Bank which must ultimately finance this part of German shipping.

The German authorities next tried to make the owners

order each individual captain to go to a neutral port. The Danish owners again refused, exploiting the fact that the Germans had forbidden them to use the wireless, which, they said, had made it impossible for them to keep in touch with their ships, and they henceforth considered each captain the director of his department of the shipping company, viz., the ship of which he had command. Each captain was therefore at liberty to make his own decision. And so it happened that nearly all Danish ships which were at that time beyond the reach of the Germans, made their way to a British or Allied port and now sail for Great Britain.

Quite apart from the fact that the sympathy of the Danes is largely with Britain, there can be no doubt that most of the Danish owners would rather see their ships sailing under British flag, because they still stand a chance of getting them back after the war. If they are not lost at sea, Britain will return them, whereas Germany would keep them for good.

The Danish ships representing half a million tons which are working for Great Britain to-day are, in reality, one of the most important national assets Denmark has left outside German control.

The Danish sailors who have been cut off from their various Trade Unions in Denmark because of the war, have here in England formed a special organisation, the "Amalgamated Danish Seamen's Organisation," which will work for Denmark's liberty by contributing to the best of their ability to an Allied victory, and also by looking after Trade Union interests and building up a strong and economically powerful organisation which could be transferred to Denmark after the war, and could absorb the remains of the original Danish Trade Unions. Besides this, the seamen have their own representation on the Danish Council.

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But the sailors are not the only Danes who offer their lives in the struggle against Nazism. Danish volunteers have been permitted to join the British Army and Air Force, and Danish girls serve with the A.T.S. or the W.A.A.F. With a former officer in the Danish army, now Captain in the

British Army, W. Michael Iversen from the Danish Council, at its head, a recruiting office was set up under the British War Office, and volunteers who joined here were trained with the British Army. The well-known Royal East Kent Regiment, the Buffs, of which King Christian is Colonel-in-Chief, gladly opened their ranks to Danish volunteers. They show a "Danmark" on the left shoulder and a Danish flag on the right sleeve.

With a view to the collaboration which is now developing between the Danish Council in London and Danish associations in other parts of the free world, there is reason to believe that the day is not far off when Danes from different parts of the world will join the British Army and will then form a natural part of the Danish unit in the Royal East Kent Regiment.

The Danish unit already owns a "split flag," the official Danish flag as used by the army, and which has been brought out of German-occupied Denmark by three boys who are now serving here.

CHAPTER 2

A Dane takes the Lead

ON April 9th, 1941, exactly one year after the German invasion of Denmark, the U.S.A. took the Danish colony Greenland under her protection in accordance with an agreement concluded in Washington between the U.S. Secretary of State and the Danish Minister in Washington, Henrik Kauffmann. In the prefatory note to the agreement, Denmark's sovereignty over Greenland is categorically recognised, but as the Danish government is unable to exert its sovereignty as a consequence of the German occupation, it was only informed of the agreement when it was made public.

The step the Danish Minister, Henrik Kauffmann, had taken was the more courageous, since it was clear to everyone that the government in Copenhagen would be forced to take the attitude the Germans dictated. But Mr. Kauffmann, through his action, saved Greenland from being used as a base for air operations directed against Iceland or Great Britain, and, of course, the Atlantic shipping. And he furthermore secured the Danish colony for Denmark after the war.

Only after the agreement had been signed did Mr. Kauffmann inform his government that he had signed it on behalf of King Christian, that it was in the best interests of Denmark and Greenland, and that he had acted in accordance with his conscience and feelings of loyalty to his King.

The reply to Mr. Kauffmann's telegram to the Danish government was his immediate recall. When he ignored this he was dismissed and it was announced that criminal investigations would be started against him not only for flagrant disregard of his official duties, but for jeopardising the security of the state.

In a message to Cordell Hull about the recall order which demanded that the Danish Minister immediately informed President Roosevelt that he must return to Denmark at once, Mr. Kauffmann stresses that in May last year when Denmark had been occupied by the Nazis, he had issued a declaration that he would work only for Denmark's freedom, and that his work would have been impossible without the sympathy and collaboration of the American government.

As a result of his action and the steps which the Danish government had to take against him on German orders, Mr. Kauffmann, who was very popular before, has become almost a national hero in Denmark. Everybody knows what Kauffmann has done and all about the agreement with America.

As early as April, 1940, Henrik Kauffmann had started to work independently for Denmark's future, and he also was the first Danish official abroad to be dismissed because he would not bow to German-dictated orders, but soon after three Danish Consuls General in the United States suffered the same fate. The announcement of this was made over Kalundborg Radio on June 15th this year, as follows :

"The Foreign Office has issued a statement to the effect that when it received reports from Mr. Kauffmann stating that the other Danish officials in the United States shared, in principle, Mr. Kauffmann's point of view, although the agreement with the American government was wholly Mr. Kauffmann's doing, it instructed the officials in question to sever every connection with Mr. Kauffmann and to give a solemn promise of loyal obedience to the instructions of the Danish government. When this instruction was not acted upon, and the Consuls General—Beck in New York, Baumann in Chicago, and Sporon-Fiedler in San Francisco—have furthermore refused to present themselves in Copenhagen for an official investigation according to regulations for civil servants, the Foreign Office has recommended their dismissal according to the above-mentioned regulations. A Royal Decree of May 13th has accepted this recommendation."

When Mr. Kauffmann was dismissed by the government

in Copenhagen, the Councillor at the legation in Washington, Mr. Blechingberg, was asked to take charge of the legation as *Chargé d'Affaires*, and he was instructed to apply for official recognition from the United States government. He approached Cordell Hull, but was told that the American government would continue to recognise Kauffmann as Danish Minister and did not intend to negotiate with anybody else. Mr. Blechingberg was given his passport and had to return to Denmark. With him went two vice-consuls from New York, Helmuth Möller and Tscherning.

But Kauffmann was not for long without assistance at his legation. The councillor at the Danish Legation in Reykjavik, Carl Brun, resigned from his post in order to go to Washington and join Mr. Kauffmann. When the Danish government heard about Mr. Brun's decision, they ordered him to return to Copenhagen immediately and threatened him with dismissal and legal proceedings according to criminal law. Carl Brun answered that he considered it his duty to put himself at the disposal of the Legation in Washington.

And others followed his example. On November 20th, 1941, it was announced that the Danish *Chargé d'Affaires* in Teheran and Bagdad, Kammerjunker Aage Fensmark, had broken off relations with the government in Copenhagen. In his note to the governments of Iran and Iraq, he emphasised that when he was sent out to their countries he had been the envoy of a free Danish government, but that he could no longer consider the Copenhagen government as free, and that henceforth he regarded himself as a representative of a free and independent Denmark. At the same time he informed Mr. Kauffmann in Washington that he wanted to work with him in the common cause. The next day the Foreign Office in Copenhagen issued a statement, that Mr. Fensmark was dismissed without notice, and that an investigation would be carried out to decide whether his action was liable to punishment.

Other developments were soon to follow. Immediately after the signing of the anti-Comintern Pact in Berlin on

November 25th by Erik Scavenius, the Danish Minister in London, Count Eduard Reventlow, sent a telegram to the Danish Legation in Stockholm to be forwarded to the Foreign Office in Copenhagen. This telegram stated that the Danish Minister in London had broken off relations with his government in Copenhagen as a result of their adherence to the anti-Comintern Pact, which, according to the Minister's conviction, was "likely seriously to damage Denmark's reputation in Great Britain and to endanger the traditional good relations between Denmark and the British Commonwealth."

Count Reventlow points out that "a dignified and effective carrying-out of his duties is inconsistent with a continuation of the present state of affairs." The Minister concludes by stating that "he will strive in deep loyalty and faith to His Majesty to maintain the diplomatic relations of a free Denmark with the British government and to look after Danish interests in the British Commonwealth."

This step was no surprise to the British government or to the Free Danes, who unanimously welcomed the Minister's decision. Count Reventlow will remain at his post in London as the envoy of the Danish King in the capacity in which he first came here, as a representative of the Danish people and as a political symbol of the friendly attitude of the Danish people towards England. Count Reventlow's legation staff headed by Councillor Gustav Rasmussen, and also the Consul General, C. M. Rottboll, and his staff, as well as the Consuls in the provincial towns, E. Kraunsoe, Manchester, H. P. Pedersen, Glasgow, Erik Schacke, Leith, and Fr. Madsen, Newcastle, are all backing the Minister's decision.

Soon after another Danish diplomatic representative, Fin Lund, the Minister in Buenos Aires, informed the Foreign Office in Copenhagen that he considered himself no longer able to take orders from the German-controlled Government, and henceforth regarded himself as a representative of a free and independent Denmark and wanted to work on the same lines as Henrik Kauffmann in Washington.



The Danish Minister in Washington (Henrik Kauffmann) with the Greenland Agreement, which and the U.S. Minister of State (Cordell Hull) signed on April 9, 1941, the anniversary of the German occupation of Denmark.



Tombstone erected in Southern Jutland "On the spot Private No. 7 K. G. Jorgensen gave his life for Denmark on April 9th, 1940. The memorial is erected by the 31st Corps."

Further developments were to follow. It fell to Kauffmann in Washington to take the lead in the free Danish world-wide movement soon after America actively entered the war. Twenty-six united nations signed a joint declaration in Washington on January 1st, 1942, and Henrik Kauffmann handed a formal declaration to the State Department in Washington on behalf of all Free Danes on January 3rd.

The declaration reads:

"The Danish Government in occupied Denmark, whence it had no means of escaping, is under German duress and is thus not free to sign the declaration by the United Nations of January 1st, 1942. I, Henrik Kauffmann, Minister of Denmark in the United States of America, therefore desire to declare that the Danish nation though subjugated, now more than ever believes in the principles and purposes of the Atlantic Charter of August 14th, 1941. Danes in the free world feel pledged to contribute the best of their efforts in the common struggle for victory over Hitlerism, adhering to the principles of the declaration of January 1st, 1942, as if the declaration had been signed by a free Danish Government."

In a statement issued by the Danish Legation in Washington the same day Kauffmann expressed the desire that this declaration should be made a part of the joint declaration signed by the United Nations.

APPENDIX

TEXT OF GREENLAND AGREEMENT

which was concluded between the United States of America and Denmark on April 9th, 1941 :

Whereas :

One. After the invasion and occupation of Denmark on April 9th, 1940, by foreign military forces, the United Greenland Councils at their meeting at Godhavn on May 3rd, 1940, adopted in the name of the people of Greenland a resolution reiterating their oath of allegiance to King Christian X of Denmark and expressing the hope that, for as long as Greenland remains cut off from the mother country, the Government of the United States of America will continue to hold in mind the exposed position of the Danish flag in Greenland, of the native Greenland and Danish population, and of established public order ; and

Two. The Governments of all of the American Republics have agreed that the status of regions in the Western Hemisphere belonging to European powers is a subject of deep concern to the American Nations, and that the course of military events in Europe and the changes resulting from them may create the grave danger that European territorial possessions in America may be converted into strategic centres of aggression against nations of the American Continent ; and

Three. Defence of Greenland against attack by a non-American power is essential to the preservation of the peace and security of the American Continent and is a subject of vital concern to the United States of America and also to the Kingdom of Denmark ; and

Four. Although the sovereignty of Denmark over Greenland is fully recognised, the present circumstances for the time being prevent the Government in Denmark from exercising its powers in respect of Greenland.

Therefore,

The undersigned, to wit : Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States of America, acting on behalf of the Government of the United States of America, and Henrik de Kauffmann, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the King of Denmark at Washington, acting on behalf of His Majesty the King of Denmark in his capacity as sovereign of Greenland, whose authorities in Greenland have concurred herein, have agreed as follows :

Article I

The Government of the United States of America reiterates its recognition of and respect for the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Denmark over Greenland. Recognising that as a result of the present European war there is danger that Greenland may be converted into a point of aggression against nations of the American Continent, the Government of the United States of America, having in mind its obligations under the Act of Habana signed on July 30th, 1940, accepts the responsibility of assisting Greenland in the maintenance of its present status.

Article II

It is agreed that the Government of the United States of America shall have the right to construct, maintain and operate such landing fields, seaplane facilities and radio and meteorological installations as may be necessary for the accomplishment of the purposes set forth in Article I.

Article III

The grants of the rights specified in Article II shall also include the right to improve and deepen harbours and anchorages and the approaches thereto, to install aids to navigation by air and by water, and to construct roads, communication services, fortifications, repair and storage facilities, and housing for personnel, and generally the right to do any and all things necessary to ensure the efficient operation, maintenance and protection of such defence facilities as may be established.

Article IV

The landing fields, seaplane, harbour and other defence facilities that may be constructed and operated by the Government of the United States of America under Articles II and III will be made available to the airplanes and vessels of all the American Nations for purposes connected with the common defence of the Western Hemisphere.

Article V

It is agreed that the Government of the United States of America shall have the right to lease for such period of time as this Agreement may be in force such areas of land and water as may be necessary for the construction, operation and protection of the defence facilities specified in Articles II and III. In locating the aforesaid defence areas, the fullest consideration consistent with military necessity shall be given to the welfare, health and economic needs of the native population of Greenland. It is agreed, however, that since the paramount objective sought in the early attainment of an adequate defence establishment in Greenland, the utilisation of any area deemed by the Government of the United States of America to be needed for this purpose shall not be delayed pending the reaching of an agreement upon the precise terms of a formal lease. A description of such areas, by metes and bounds, and a statement of the purpose for which they are needed shall in each case be communicated to the Danish authorities in Greenland as soon as practicable, and the negotiation of a formal lease shall be undertaken within a reasonable period of time thereafter.

Article VI

The Kingdom of Denmark retains sovereignty over the defence areas mentioned in the preceding Articles. So long as this Agreement shall remain in force, the Government of the United States of America shall have exclusive jurisdiction over any such defence area in Greenland and over military and civilian personnel of the United States, and their families, as well as over all other persons within such areas except Danish citizens and native Greenlanders, it being

understood, however, that the Government of the United States may turn over to the Danish authorities in Greenland for trial and punishment any person committing an offence within a defence area, if the Government of the United States shall decide not to exercise jurisdiction in such case. The Danish authorities in Greenland will take adequate measures to ensure the prosecution and punishment in case of conviction of all Danish citizens, native Greenlanders, and other persons who may be turned over to them by the authorities of the United States, for offences committed within said defence areas.

Article VII

It is agreed that the Government of the United States of America shall have the right to establish and maintain postal facilities and commissary stores to be used solely by military and civilian personnel of the United States, and their families, maintained in Greenland in connection with the Greenland defence establishment. If requested by the Danish authorities in Greenland, arrangements will be made to enable persons other than those mentioned to purchase necessary supplies at such commissary stores as may be established.

Article VIII

All materials, supplies and equipment for the construction, use and operation of the defence establishment and for the personal needs of military and civilian personnel of the United States and their families shall be permitted entry into Greenland free of Customs Duties, Excise Taxes or other charges, and the said personnel, and their families, shall also be exempt from all forms of taxation, assessments or other levies by the Danish authorities in Greenland.

Article IX

The Government of the United States of America will respect all legitimate interests in Greenland as well as all the laws, regulations and customs pertaining to the native population and the internal administration of Greenland. In exercising the rights derived from this Agreement the

Government of the United States will give sympathetic consideration to all representations made by the Danish authorities in Greenland with respect to the welfare of the inhabitants of Greenland

Article X

This Agreement shall remain in force until it is agreed that the present dangers to the peace and security of the American Continent have passed. At that time the modification or termination of the Agreement will be the subject of consultation between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Denmark. After due consultation has taken place, each party shall have the right to give the other party notice of its intention to terminate the Agreement, and it is hereby agreed, that at the expiration of twelve months after such notice shall have been received by either party from the other this Agreement shall cease to be in force.

Signed at Washington in duplicate, in the English and Danish languages, both texts having equal force, this ninth day of April, nineteen hundred and forty-one

(Seal) CORDELL HULL,
*Secretary of State
of the United States of America.*

(Seal) HENRIK KAUFFMANN,
*Envoy Extraordinary and Minister
Plenipotentiary of His Majesty
the King of Denmark at Washington.*

